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INSIDE EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAY'S The New York Times WEEKLY REVIEW

Ross may leave if Hebron deal isn't closed this week

DAVID MAKOVSKY

US MIDDLE East peace envoy Dennis Ross is weighing the possibility of leaving the region if a Hebron redeployment deal is not worked out by the end of the week, a source close to the negotiations said.

Such a warning by Ross may provide the impetus to wrap up the talks. But if it is not heeded by the parties and Ross leaves, it could be interpreted publicly as a sign of failure, and even trigger violence.

Ross and his aides are beginning their third week as facilitators of the peace talks. Informal talks continued in Tel Aviv last night, and negotiators are supposed to convene today in Eilat.

Assuming it would take 10 days to actually implement a Hebron deal, the accord would have to be concluded this week for implementation to occur before the US elections on November 5.

"Ross has made it clear he has a few options, and leaving by the end of this week is one of them," the source said, but refused to elaborate about when Ross would make his decision.

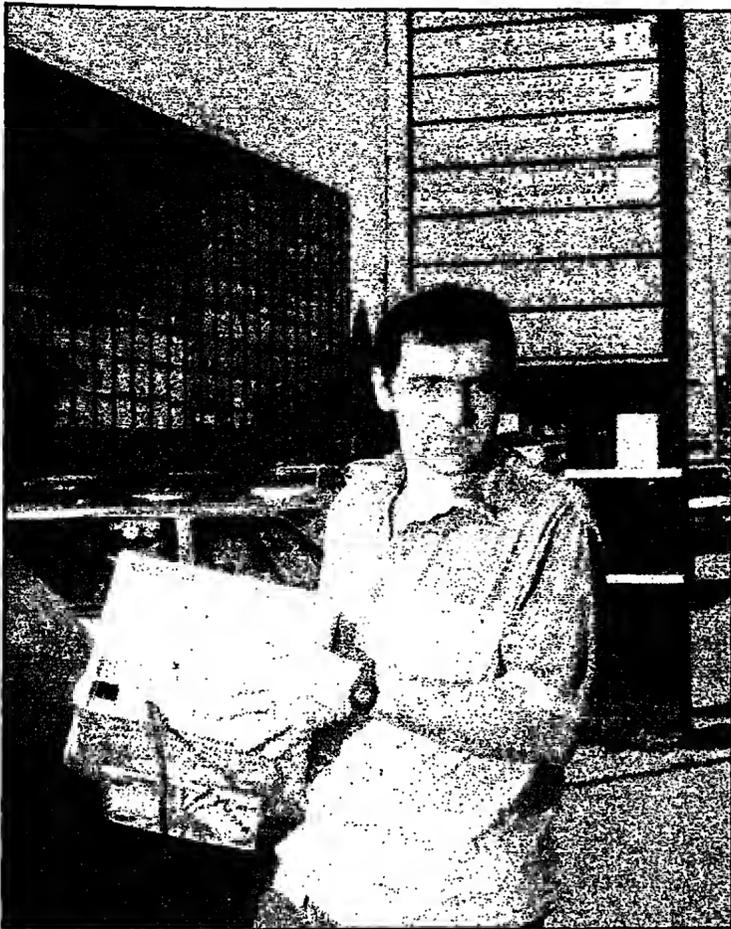
Ross was not available for comment last night.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is concerned that French President Jacques Chirac, who arrives today, may interfere with the very sensitive negotiations by throwing his weight behind Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's position, senior officials say.

Officials in the Prime Minister's Office released a statement suggesting that they would prefer that Chirac not interfere.

Chirac "is a friend and a well-wisher," said a source.

(Continued on Page 4)



A tax investigator carries a computer out of News Datacom Ltd. in a raid yesterday of the Rupert Murdoch-owned company's offices in Jerusalem.

Murdoch firm suspected of NIS150m. in local tax fraud

RAJNE MARCUS

INTERNATIONAL press magnate Rupert Murdoch is suspected of evading NIS 150 million in taxes via his Jerusalem-based subsidiary News Datacom Research, which manufactures and exports smart cards for pay TV systems.

The alleged evasion was said by the authorities to involve the largest sums in the country's history.

Income Tax Authority sources said that if Murdoch sets foot in the country, he may be taken in for questioning. However no arrest warrant has been issued.

The investigation, conducted undercover for several months, was supervised personally by Tax Commissioner Doron Levy.

The firm, whose parent company is based in the United Kingdom, employs some 250 people here.

Murdoch owns some 400 companies worldwide, including British dailies *The Times* and *The Sun*, and TV networks such as London-based Sky News and Hong Kong-based Star TV, and the American Fox TV and Hughes Pay TV. He also recently bought shares in a Hollywood production company owned by Israeli Arnon Milchin. Murdoch is reportedly currently in Australia, where he also owns scores of companies and newspapers.

Early yesterday morning, some 70 tax investigators raided News Datacom's Jerusalem office in the Har Hotzvim industrial zone. Thousands of documents, computer programs, and computers were seized, and several of the companies senior managers were detained for questioning on suspicion of tax fraud. Two senior News Datacom partners, Tuvia Elrich and Meir Liuzel, are expected to be questioned this

morning. Authorities later visited the Tel Aviv offices of the Herzog, Fuchs, and Ne'eman law firm, which represents the company. One of its partners is former justice minister Ya'acov Ne'eman, suspended from his position pending an investigation into alleged irregularities.

Among those detained for questioning were company president Abe Peled; Prof. Adi Shamir, who developed the "smart card" and is one of the founders of the company; accountant Dov Rubin; and former financial officer Leo Krieger.

Krieger, who now works independently, was first questioned several months ago and allegedly confessed to cheating the taxman out of NIS 8 million. A source close to the investigation said that information he divulged only reinforced investigators' theories about large-scale tax evasion.

Shamir, head of the Weizmann Institute's computer science department, sold his shares in the company recently. Authorities also searched his offices and home, seizing hundreds of documents and diskettes.

Murdoch's company is suspected of committing several offenses, said Income Tax Authority and other sources. Among the allegations:

• All R & D for the company was conducted here, but payment for such services was allegedly sent to News Datacom's parent companies in Hong Kong and the UK to avoid paying local taxes.

• Managers' "consultant" fees beyond their regular salaries were paid into bank accounts abroad.

• Software was manufactured here and exported for use abroad for millions of pay TV users. Tax authorities allege that money was paid by clients to a branch of the parent company in Hong Kong, where taxes are substantially lower.

Other lawyers representing the company asked to hand over documents are Yigal Arnon's Jerusalem office and the Horowitz firm. The courts must decide within seven days whether to turn these documents over to the tax

authorities. (Continued on Page 4)



Rupert Murdoch (AP)

Authorities regarding the Arneh Deri trial.

The lawyers objected to the tax authorities' confiscating documents and diskettes, arguing that the material is subject to lawyer/client confidentiality. They said material was transferred to the Tel Aviv District Court until a decision is made.

Other lawyers representing the company asked to hand over documents are Yigal Arnon's Jerusalem office and the Horowitz firm. The courts must decide within seven days whether to turn these documents over to the tax

Levy rejects idea of EU envoy to Middle East Chirac agrees to attend Knesset event

DAVID MAKOVSKY

ON the eve of today's visit by French President Jacques Chirac, Foreign Minister David Levy rejected the Paris-backed idea of the European Union (EU) of naming a Middle East peace envoy.

To calm the anger over another point of controversy surrounding his visit, Chirac has agreed to attend a special Knesset event tomorrow. Speaker Dan Tichon had threatened to boycott the Chirac visit, since he will be addressing the Palestinian Legislative Council in Ramallah and the Jordanian parliament in Amman, but had pointedly rejected an invitation to speak in the Knesset.

The French agreed yesterday that Chirac would be in the Knesset visitors gallery, but he will not deliver a speech, since he

will be delivering his main address later today at the Technion. Levy told Israel Radio he rejected the idea of the EU dispatching its own envoy. "We reject it completely," Levy said, adding, "The two sides must reach an agreement among themselves. Any other method is the antithesis of negotiations free from outside pressure."

Chirac also toned down his call for the EU to co-sponsor the peace process, Reuter reported.

At a joint news conference with Syrian President Hafez Assad, Chirac said: "I did not come here to teach people lessons... We are not trying to force our way in. I am simply saying that we are available, that we have valid reasons to be involved, and that a certain bal-

ance of things may justify the presence of Europe and of France."

A day earlier, Chirac had endorsed the need for such a mediator. "France and Europe must stand by the parties as sources of friendship and proposals, and not as mere partners for reconstruction," he said. "It is time for Europe to co-sponsor this process as well."

The pre-visit differences over an EU mediator and a Knesset visit are only two of the problems which have cropped up before Chirac's arrival.

However, Ambassador to France Avi Pazner said what is significant is not that there are differences, but that they have been resolved in a good spirit. For example, France (Continued on Page 4)

Book claims Paris stole Jewish property during WWII

THE Paris Municipality controls hundreds of buildings and apartments that were owned or occupied by Jews before World War II, and which were systematically evacuated during and after the war in an organized operation of ethnic purification executed by French authorities.

According to journalist Brigitte Vital-Durand's book *Private Domain*, which is to be published this week, the municipal authorities in the French capital took advantage of the Nazi occupation in order to liquidate the Jewish presence in Paris's fourth district, better known as the Marais quarter.

Before the war, the Marais was inhabited by thousands of French Jews and Jewish immigrants and refugees that had fled Central and Eastern Europe, hoping to find shelter in France from the ascending Nazi and fascist movements.

The Marais, which juxtaposes Paris' city hall, l'Hotel de Ville, became a new ghetto in the heart of the capital, housing some 20,000 Jews. Using the need to fight the tuberculosis that ravaged certain poor quarters of Paris as an excuse, the city's administration

Jerusalem Post Staff

planned to evacuate the Marais, destroy it and replace it with a residential quarter for municipal employees. The German occupation gave the antisemitic administrators of Paris the opportunity to execute their plan to expel the Jews living in the center of Paris.

Under the Vichy regime's emergency laws, 403 buildings in one of Paris's most expensive quarters, bordering the right bank of the Seine, were purchased at very low prices and evacuated. Many of the owners or tenants were dispossessed or thrown out without any financial compensation.

The city also claimed holdings that were left behind by Jews who fled from France after the occupation or were deported to concentration camps. No real effort was made after the war to compensate relatives of the Holocaust victims. Moreover, in 1943, the head of the Parisian police, Perier de Feral, ordered that steps be taken to avoid a return of Jewish refugees to the quarter in the event the Germans lose the war.

The holdings became the "private domain" of the city council. Since the liberation, the prefects and mayors that ran Paris - including French President Jacques Chirac who served as the mayor of Paris for 20 years - have used this domain to lodge their relatives as well as French politicians, offi-

cial, artists and journalists connected to different political parties, mainly those close to the right-wing parties.

The holdings were rented for particularly low prices. Among those who benefitted from this privilege were Prime Minister Alain Juppé, who in February 1995, should be closed, entirely, in a life span of 50 years - compared to three years for the equipment previously used - and has already saved the company hundreds of thousands of shekels.

David Rudge

Chief rabbis advise Bar-Ilan closure

HAIM SHAPIRO

THE chief rabbis yesterday advised the Zameret Committee, which is dealing with the issue of traffic on Shabbat, that Jerusalem's Rehov Bar-Ilan should be closed, entirely, in a life span of 50 years - compared to three years for the equipment previously used - and has already saved the company hundreds of thousands of shekels.

David Rudge

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PM: No prediction on Hebron resolution

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu yesterday toured an army position near Ramallah with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai.

Mordechai later visited holy sites in Hebron and Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem, where he was briefed on the latest military positions on redeployment.

Netanyahu said negotiations were still in a sensitive stage and he could not predict when an agreement would be reached. But Mordechai believed an agreement on the Hebron withdrawal could be reached this week "as soon as our minimal demands are met."

Defense Ministry sources said that negotiations had reached a crucial stage and if a deal was not finalized this week, then the whole momentum would likely be broken, paving the way for an escalation in tensions and possible further violence.

Netanyahu began the day with a briefing at the Judea and Samaria Forces Headquarters near Beit El overlooking Ramallah. With Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak and senior Central Command officers at their sides, Netanyahu and Mordechai queried the generals on the current security situation.

From Beit El, Mordechai flew to Hebron to view the Jewish quarter from Jebel Abu Sneia hill.

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

Control of the strategic hill is reportedly one of the items being negotiated, but Mordechai refused to discuss its fate. A handful of Jewish settlers demonstrated against the impending IDF pull-out. Another group protested as his 12-vehicle motorcade drove through the town toward the Cave of the Patriarchs.

"I spoke with people and heard what they had to say and am aware of them and I [also] know that there is an agreement and government decisions," Mordechai said, noting that the Jewish settlers would not be left out of the picture.

Mordechai drove from Hebron to Rachel's Tomb. Border policemen closed the main Hebron-Bethlehem road for over an hour as Mordechai's heavily defended convoy visited the site. General Security Service bodyguards toting sniper rifles ordered troops in flak-jackets aside as they took up positions atop surrounding buildings.

Mordechai said the agreements on the Cave of the Patriarchs, Rachel's Tomb and Joseph's Tomb would not be changed and that Jews would have free access to them.

Mordechai also said he was optimistic that an agreement would be

reached shortly.

Renovations have engulfed Rachel's Tomb with cement walls, iron rods and layers of dust. Since the riots last month, the Palestinian laborers have been replaced with Romanians, who were laying the foundations for a block-long cement tunnel linking the tomb to an IDF-patrolled parking lot.

Contractors replaced the original idea of a cement wall with a covered walkway following the violent clashes at the shrine three weeks ago. Remnants of those clashes could still be seen, including the bullet holes around the sandbagged lookout post on the roof of a building across the streets and a shattered window in the tomb itself.

"The whole structure will be surrounded by walls and completely protected. This will give us a sense of security. If this is what the IDF wants, then I am satisfied with it," said Rabbi Shmuel Rabinovitz, the official in charge of holy sites.

Yoav, a border policeman with the words "You can't run from death" scribbled on his flak jacket, nodded in agreement. He pointed to a position which was overrun by a Palestinian mob and recalled how he came under fire, and said he hoped the new walls would offer better protection.



OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan (second from left) briefs Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai (center) yesterday from a site overlooking Rachel's Tomb. (Brian Hender)

Settlers protest impending redeployment

WITH the countdown to redeployment in Hebron apparently underway, Jews in Hebron and Kiryat Arba yesterday variously protested against the government, and went ahead with a ceremony intended to create a business-as-usual atmosphere.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, who visited the area, was met by groups of angry Jewish residents who shouted at him that he will be responsible for a massacre if the IDF withdraws. Mordechai listened stone-faced, but did not respond. He had earlier refused overtures by Kiryat Arba head Zvi Katzover, who had wanted to meet with him during his visit.

"We are on the negotiating table, we are the ones who are going to pay the price, yet the defense minister does not have time to meet with us," Katzover said. "This is not right."

Settlement leaders said that Mordechai told them he will meet with them once the new Hebron agreement is signed. But then, Hebron spokesman Noam Arnon said, "there will be nothing to talk about, it will be a done deal. The IDF will be no reason to meet."

Mordechai was confronted by angry settlers, mostly women and children, both at Jebel Abu Sneia, a hill with a commanding view of the city that settlement leaders demand remains in Israeli hands, and at Gross Square in the city, where a banner read, "Is it possible that you will abandon the chil-

dro of Hebron?"

Sooo after Mordechai left, Moleket MK Rebamam Ze'evi arrived in Hebron and got into a shouting match with IDF soldiers who refused him entry to a part of Hebron that was declared a closed military area. After a short period, the IDF relented and Ze'evi was let in.

Meanwhile, hundreds of settlers held a protest on a hill in the Givat Ha'avot neighborhood last night, just a few meters from Arab homes, under a large banner that declared, "Kiryat Arba and Hebron again scream, don't give them weapons."

Katzover said that the protest was held at the site because it is just a few meters from where the border between Israeli and Palestinian controlled areas will pass. The demonstrations, he said, are meant to send a message that "the people here are pained, worried and boiling over." The demonstration took place near a large fence that separates the neighborhood from Hebron. A number of Palestinian children were watching the demonstration from their rooftops.

Earlier in the day, tractors sent by the Kiryat Arba local council moved large boulders that were meant to demarcate the Palestinian and Israeli areas around Givat Ha'avot. Kiryat Arba spokesman Tsuri Popovitch said the purpose

was to show that the protests will not only take the form of demonstrations, but that the residents also plan on taking action on the ground as well.

Protests, however, were not the only gatherings taking place in the Hebron settlement yesterday. About 150 students at the Shavei Hebron Yeshiva in Hebron held a ceremony dedicating a new Torah, and - singing and waving flags - danced with the Torah for about a kilometer through Hebron's streets, from the Machpela Cave to Beit Romano, where the yeshiva is located.

The procession was guarded by numerous police and IDF soldiers, who grasped their guns in the ready position, with fingers on their triggers, and warily looked from window to window as the procession passed by. The yeshiva students danced past new IDF checkpoints and sandbag barriers that have recently appeared on the streets. Once in the yeshiva compound, the students were joined in their dancing by a number of paratroopers stationed nearby.

Yehuda Burdman, who studies at the yeshiva, said that the ceremony was planned months ago and was not intended to coincide with the diplomatic maneuvers surrounding Hebron. The Torah scroll and nearly two tons of books were donated by Chicagoan Seymour Abrams and came from a

synagogue there that had recently closed its doors.

Burdman said the message of the ceremony is that the settlement "will continue to grow and develop," adding that he is certain the yeshiva will still be in its place five years from now.

At the yeshiva, Hagai Ben-Artzi, a prominent educator in the national religious camp and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's brother-in-law, quoted from Netanyahu's book, *A Place Under the Sun*, about the Jewish tie to Hebron. Ben-Artzi said this was an appeal to "my brother, my friend, someone I admire," to keep his word and not strangle the Jewish settlement in Hebron.

Haim Shapiro adds dozens of rabbis met in Tel Aviv yesterday and issued a halachic ruling according to which redeployment in Hebron is forbidden because it would violate the concept of *pikuach nefesh* by endangering the lives of Jews in the city.

Most of the rabbis were affiliated with the National Religious Party, but also included the Rebbe of Sadigora, a member of the Agudat Yisrael Council of Sages. Also present was Rabbi Ya'acov Yosef, the son of the Shas mentor and former Sephardi chief rabbi, Ovadya Yosef. Ya'acov Yosef cast aspersions on Netanyahu.

"Who is to say that a person who betrayed his wife wouldn't betray the Jewish people?" Yosef asked the assembled rabbis.

Netanyahu urges Syria to return to negotiating table

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai played good cop, bad cop yesterday. Netanyahu spoke softly and urged Syrian President Hafez Assad to talk peace, while the Mordechai warned him not to underestimate the might of the IDF.

"It's true that the defense establishment is monitoring with seven eyes what is occurring in Syria in case Syrian intentions do not match ours," Netanyahu said. "But our hope is that Syria understands that escalation is not good for either side and that the correct thing to do is to return to the negotiating table."

"From our point of view, there shouldn't be any deterioration in the situation, and we have communicated that to Syria, both through diplomatic channels and publicly."

Speaking following a briefing on the military situation in Judea

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

and Samaria, Netanyahu stressed that Israel's hand "is stretched out for peace and the resumption of negotiations, which I think is in the interests of both Israel and Syria."

Last week, Brig.-Gen. Amos Gilad, head of military intelligence analysis and assessment, said Syria had deployed the troops to give it a military option should it feel the peace process has become irretrievably deadlocked.

With this in mind, Mordechai issued a veiled warning that the IDF would repel any Syrian attack.

"I don't want any tension with the Syrians. I want to repeat my message to the Syrians that we have no offensive intentions. But together with this, we are taking all necessary steps. The IDF is deployed and on alert to deal with any possible attempt by someone

to take certain steps," Mordechai said, following a tour of Rachel's Tomb.

Despite his bravado, some military sources believe that without costly preventative steps, the Syrian commandos would be able to capture the strategic monitoring station on the Hermon or perhaps other hilltops on the Golan.

"But that all depends, on the level of casualties they are willing to take. Assad has to take into account the response and weigh whether it will bring him closer to getting the Golan Heights back," one senior source said.

Other defense sources believe that Assad is waiting to see if last month's flare-up of violence in the territories ultimately helps Yasser Arafat achieve a better deal.

Mordechai warned that such a move would not be worth Assad's while. "I am advising Assad to return to the negotiating table. Any violent steps in Syria or in Lebanon will not serve a purpose, only distance it," he said. "The IDF is alert and ready for any possibility."

United Israel Appeal of Canada
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 its Officers and Staff are deeply saddened by the sudden passing of
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With great sorrow we mourn the loss of
DAVID J. SHAMAH זצ"ל
 son of Joseph Shamah זצ"ל
 A man dedicated to Torah and acts of kindness.
 The funeral will leave the Shangar Funeral Home, today, Monday, October 21, at 12 noon.
The Family
 The shiva will be at 4 Metudella Street, Jerusalem.

Assad reiterates claim Israel agreed to full Golan withdrawal
DAVID MAKOVSKY

FOR the second time in the last two months, Syrian President Hafez Assad has told a visitor that the Labor government informed the US that it was willing to cede the entire Golan Heights.

In a dispatch from Damascus yesterday, a Reuters correspondent travelling with French President Jacques Chirac cited a French official as saying that Assad informed Chirac over the weekend that he knew that Labor made such assurances to the US.

Diplomatic sources say two months ago, Japanese Foreign Minister Yukihiko Ikeda similarly conveyed to officials in Jerusalem Assad's insistence that his delegates to talks at the Wye Plantation in Maryland earlier this year wrote up notes of discussions with Israeli officials who confirmed that Israel would withdraw to the June 4, 1967 lines.

While Israeli officials refuse to comment on the Wye talks, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu told *The Jerusalem Post* last month that Yitzhak Rabin had a "hypothetical" and conditional understanding with the US that Israel would return to the June 4 lines assuming satisfactory security arrangements and normalization requirements.

Some diplomats have seen this statement as at least indirectly bolstering Assad's position, which is that Syria will not resume peace talks unless the government adopts Rabin's position. Netanyahu says that such a position is not acceptable, since there is no signed agreement.

Kibbutz movements to tackle youth motivation in IDF

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

THE kibbutz movements are to form a two-year plan aimed at increasing the motivation among their youth to contribute more to the army. Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and kibbutz leaders decided yesterday.

"We have a social problem which does not necessarily characterize a certain sector of the population," Mordechai told them during a meeting at the Defense Ministry. "But even the kibbutz movements have seen a retreat in the readiness to serve [in the army]."

Mordechai said neither the kibbutz movements nor the defense establishment could accept this situation. He said he believes it is possible to remedy the problem.

The kibbutz leaders will be working together with the defense ministry's branch responsible for youth education, Nahal and Gadna, the pre-army training course. In a ministry statement, Mordechai said the plan needs to

address the preparations done before youth are drafted and the support they receive while in uniform. He proposed setting up attractive alternatives for youth from settlements to join after their military service.

This was in order to "supply an answer to the needs of the youth after their service in the Land of Israel," the statement said.

This summer, Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak told kibbutz leaders that the movement was bankrupt because it wasn't providing the same high numbers of officers as it once did. Kibbutz leaders strongly denied the charge, saying their youth make up an unproportionately large chunk of combat soldiers. But they admitted that readiness among kibbutz youth to sign on for officer training is dropping.

Mordechai praised the subsequent action taken by the kibbutz movement to stymie the erosion in motivation among their youth.

Third Way tours Gaza settlements

LIAT COLLINS

THIRD Way members and MKs toured the Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip in a bullet-proof minibus yesterday to see the problems experienced by residents.

Faction chairman Yehuda Harel said they had come to listen, not make statements, but both he and MK Alex Lubotsky said they felt the need to strengthen the settlements in Gush Katif and implement the party's program for separation between the Jewish and Palestinian communities.

MK Emanuel Zissman had the most far-reaching conclusion. "Netzarim and Kfar Darom must be protected," he said, "but if in the permanent settlement, it is impossible to keep them, then we must be moved to the Gush Katif area, where it will be possible to preserve Israeli sovereignty, rather than remaining in isolated enclaves."

The idea was not well-received by the local residents who quoted ideological and religious reasons for staying put. Gaza Coast Regional Council head Arac Tzur told the visitors that the area is attracting more people, but the

main problems are lack of employment and housing.

In Neveh Dekalim, the MKs were shown some of the 120 empty houses which are waiting for the government to lift the freeze to be connected to sewage and electricity lines and be inhabited.

The security problems were evident. In Kfar Darom and Morag, the MKs stood on the new ramps and sandbags to see the spots from which Palestinians shot at the settlements from all sides in the recent riots.

The senior army officer responsible for the area said that the number of soldiers in the area had been increased and security posts and bunkers strengthened. He said the IDF is "prepared for the situation to get worse. From our point of view this is just a break in the hostilities."

He said he believes that the shooting started when events got out of control, rather than as an initiated action by the Palestinian Authority, "but it is worth checking whether there wasn't a guiding hand in some places."

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 Thursday, October 24, 3:45 p.m.
Fr. Thomas Stransky, Tantur Rector
Christian Fundamentalism Responses to Political Zionism
 Thursday, November 7, 3:45 p.m.
Dr. Michael Prior
"The Moral Problem of the Bible's Land Traditions"
 Tantur Auditorium, Hebron Road towards Bethlehem, at Gilo Junction.
 Parking, Buses 22 (to Bethlehem) and 30 (through Gilo) stop at gate.

הלואה מן הלאה

Peres talks peace with Mandela

CAPE TOWN (AP) - Labor Party leader MK Shimon Peres yesterday appealed for President Nelson Mandela to use his moral influence to galvanize peace talks in the Middle East.

"Nelson Mandela represents today in the eyes of the entire world the high call of a moral consideration," Peres told journalists after meeting with Mandela for 45 minutes. "I believe his voice will be heard and respected by all parties."

Mandela is scheduled to visit Israel, Jordan, and Egypt in November, but said he may have to postpone the trip until early next year because he was still recovering from recent knee surgery.

Mandela said he had not been asked to mediate, but would travel to the Middle East as "a peace messenger."

"Naturally, I would not interfere in the affairs of the countries involved, but I will be able to tell them what we have done in our own country," Mandela said.

He stressed, however, that the initiative for peace would have to come from those involved in the conflict.

"Unless the leaders themselves undertake a dialogue in a conflict situation, outside intervention is relatively speaking quite futile," Mandela said.

The two leaders described their talk as an exchange of views ahead of Mandela's upcoming visit.



The new Syrian Orthodox Patriarchal Vicar to the Holy Land, Mar Swerios Malki Murad, is welcomed as he enters Jerusalem's Jaffa Gate yesterday. The Vicar, who holds the rank of archbishop, was born in Syria and holds a Syrian passport. He formerly served as the representative of his Church in Brazil and before that headed a theological seminary in Damascus. Among those receiving him were representatives of both the Religious Affairs Ministry and the Palestinian Authority. (Text: Haim Shapiro; Photo: Brian Hender)

Murdoch's News Datacom at cutting edge of digital broadcasting

JUDY SIEGEL

NEWS Datacom Ltd., the company in the center of the storm over Rupert Murdoch's alleged non-payment of taxes, is a cutting-edge developer of digital broadcasting satellite systems. At the factory in Jerusalem's Har Hotzvim industrial park, decoders are manufactured to make possible satellite-delivered TV programming, such as from Murdoch's Sky TV.

The technology was based on the encryption system developed by Prof. Adi Shamir, a genius mathematician at the Weizmann Institute of Science. In 1989, Murdoch purchased the system from Yeda, the Institute's research and development arm, which started getting royalties in 1992. This year, Yeda is expected to receive some \$4 million to \$5 million in royalties, with an unpublished additional amount going directly to Shamir. According to the Weizmann Institute spokesman, Shamir continues to work and

teach in Rehovot, but he periodically updates and improves the system for News Datacom.

Headed by Abe Peled, a former senior vice president at Elron Electronics, News Datacom has over 180 workers who provide "pirate"-proof digital broadcasting systems. Murdoch's TV networks offers a large variety of programming to subscribers, who may choose among channels and watch pay-per-view movies and sports events. For example, some 600,000 viewers paid \$15 apiece for the privilege of watching the Bruno-Tyson fight on satellite TV. While other satellite station broadcasts can be "stolen" by affixing a dish on the roof, the News Datacom system requires a subscriber to insert a "smart card" containing a computer chip into a decoder. The scrambled signals are read by software inside the box, which com-

municates with the smart card. When the user's rights to use the service are verified, a "key" scrambles the code and the programs the user has ordered are piped in.

Thanks to Shamir's encryption system, the company can cheaply provide subscribers with updated codes on a regular basis so that "pirates" have no chance of taking advantage of the arrangement. The smart card costs only about \$10 and is replaced every two years or so. The system can also be used to transmit magazines, newspapers and even books cheaper and more quickly around the world.

Shamir, well known for his revolution for the press, was visited in recent days by police investigators, who asked him questions about News Datacom. According to the Weizmann Institute spokesman, the math professor was not arrested and is not suspected in involvement in the Murdoch affair, contrary to radio reports.

Suissa plans to speed up Ethiopian immigration

BATSHEVA TSUR

INTERIOR Minister Eli Suissa said yesterday that he hopes to send a consul to Addis Ababa "in the near future" to speed up the handling of visa applications for the Falash Mura who have been languishing in the Ethiopian capital since Operation Solomon.

Suissa told a group of kessim (spiritual leaders of the Ethiopian Jewish community) and other community leaders yesterday that the issue was being held up by the lack of funding.

He said he was well aware of the necessity to help the Falash Mura and that he had discussed the subject with Absorption Minister Yuli Edelstein and Labor MK Adisa Massala, who heads the Unified Ethiopian Immigrants Organization. Suissa said he also plans to meet with the foreign minister to give the matter impetus.

Despite the fact that caravan sites have been closed down, Suissa said, he had given instructions for the site at Hatsrot Yassaf near Acre to remain intact in the hope that it would be possible to absorb the remaining Falash Mura there. Several members of the Falash Mura community already live at the site.

Some 5,000 Falash Mura streamed to Addis Ababa at the time of Operation Solomon and afterwards. About 2,000 have since made aliya.

Israel attending regional organ transplants parley

JUDY SIEGEL

ISRAEL will for the first time participate in meetings of the Middle East Society for Organ Transplants, which will open today in Cyprus. All the Arab countries in the region are members of the medical organization, including Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Kuwait, Oman and Saudi Arabia, as well as Greece, Cyprus and Turkey.

In the past, MESOT met in countries with which Israel had no diplomatic relations. The invitation was sent several months ago, when relations between Israel and the Arab world were at their height. But despite the difficult atmosphere of the past few weeks, Israeli representatives — from Israel Transplant — will nevertheless attend along with their Arab counterparts. The current head of MESOT, who is from Turkey, has been encouraging the Israelis to

take part. The Israeli delegation represents all the major transplant centers here. One of the experts, from the Rabin Medical Center-Beilinson Campus, will report on the 40 liver transplants that have been performed in the Petah Tikva hospital since 1992. Israeli surgeons note that the success rates are high and the complication rates low. Eighty-seven percent of liver transplant patients are alive after a year, and 75% after four years.

Although the regional conference aims at exchanging medical information, MESOT members do not cooperate in organ transplantation and do not even run an exchange system for organs. Some participants are expected to propose using the four-day event for establishing such cooperation along the model of Eurotransplant.

Cancer Association prepares for fundraising campaign

JUDY SIEGEL

A NUMBER of research centers around the world are testing a series of natural substances and synthetic compounds on animals and humans with the aim of halting the development of cancer in its early stages. The promising field of chemoprevention was discussed at a seminar organized yesterday by the Israel Cancer Association, which hopes to raise NIS 11 million during its "Knock on the Door" campaign on Tuesday, October 29. A Beit Hanassi reception kicking off the campaign (chaired by Yair Hamburger) was held yesterday. The chemopreventive substances are mostly nutritional or hormonal, but sometimes include various drugs given for diseases and symptoms not connected to cancer. Among the chemopreventive substances are soy beans, aspirin, the contraceptive pill, tomatoes and garlic.

While researchers are not ready to recommend taking these substances until research is concluded, the aim is that eventually, healthy people — especially those with a family history of cancer — will be able to take them on a long-term basis to prevent the disease from appearing.

Experts at the seminar disclosed that contrary to previous findings, three recent studies have disclosed that taking vitamin A derivatives (such as beta carotene) does not reduce the incidence of cancer in smokers; in fact, they increase the risk of cancer in such people. A US researcher said that smoking apparently neutralizes vitamins' protective effect on the body.

A Health Ministry statistician said that the rate of new cancer cases detected in Israel remains stable, but various types of cancer are increasing. In 1993, 14,070 new cases were diagnosed, 7,378 of them in women.

Although the incidence of breast cancer was on the upswing in the Eighties, it remained stable between 1989 and 1993; however, this still remains the most common type of cancer in the country. Fortunately, thanks to better early detection, a growing number of cases are discovered at an early stage in the disease, with a 50 percent drop in those diagnosed at the most advanced stage. Now 78.9% of women with breast cancer survive for at least five years, compared to 75% in 1980.

Kupat Holim Clalit has begun inviting all its female members aged 50 to 74 to undergo a mammography every two years. An Israel Cancer Association screening program has carried out 430,000 mammograms since 1992.

Diagnosis of prostate cancer continues to increase, with a doubling in the Jewish population over the past six years. But experts said that at least some of this is due to improved diagnostic techniques, including blood testing for prostate-specific antigen. However, since this can signal a benign prostate condition rather than just cancer, it is not yet regarded as a standard tool for mass

Court orders Religious Ministry to allow equal pay for women

EVELYN GORDON

THE Religious Affairs Ministry must rewrite its funding criteria so that they do not discriminate between men and women, the High Court of Justice ordered yesterday.

The order was issued in response to a petition by Nishmat, an institute of Jewish studies for women in Jerusalem. The petition noted that male yeshiva students who live in their school's dormitories are funded by the ministry at a rate of NIS 375 per student per month, while full-time women students who live in the dormitories get only NIS 135 per student. For married students who do not live in the dormitories, the difference is even greater: NIS 490 per month for men and NIS 120 for women.

Furthermore, the petition said, male students are eligible for funding from the ministry until the age of 65, while women students are funded only until the age of 30.

The ministry argued that there was a legitimate reason for these differences: Men are obligated by religious law to study Torah, while women are not. Therefore, the ministry said, when the budget is limited, preference must be given to men.

In addition, the ministry argued, men who are deferring their army service are not allowed to work while they study, whereas women can both work and study. Furthermore, it said, married men who study need a stipend to help support their families, while married women can be supported by their husbands.

However, Justices Aharon Barak, Elihu Mazza and Mishael Cheshin ruled at a hearing yesterday that the ministry had offered no valid reasons for its sex-based discrimination. It therefore ordered the ministry to revise its funding criteria and present the new criteria to the court within two months. If the revised criteria still fail to satisfy the petitioners,

Journalist's conviction upheld for incitement during intifada

Mohammed Jabarin guilty of violating the Terror Prevention Ordinance

EVELYN GORDON

THE Supreme Court upheld an Arab journalist's conviction for praising and encouraging acts of violence during the intifada yesterday.

Mohammed Jabarin was convicted in the Hadera Magistrate's Court of violating the Terror Prevention Ordinance via three articles praising intifada-related violence which were published in Arabic-language newspapers in 1990-91. He was sentenced to a NIS 15,000 fine and a two-year suspended sentence. The Haifa District Court rejected his appeal, and he then appealed to the Supreme Court.

During the appeal, the state agreed that the conviction on two of the three counts should be overturned. However, Justices Eliezer

Goldberg, Elihu Mazza and Ya'acov Kedmi said the conviction for the third article was justified.

"I say to you, my friend, that whenever I said 'Hurrah! Hurrah!' and threw a stone, I felt that victory was calling to us, [saying]: 'Continue to throw.' I will not deny, my friend, that whenever I shouted 'Hurrah! Hurrah!' and threw a Molotov cocktail, I felt covered in glory and splendor; I felt that I had found my identity," this article said.

Jabarin, represented by the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, had argued that con-

vincing someone because of what they write is such a severe infringement on freedom of speech that it is justified only if the author's words are genuinely likely to cause violence. Furthermore, ACRI argued, the author must actually mean to incite. Jabarin claimed he merely was trying to explain how the average Palestinian felt.

However, basing themselves on the recent decision in the case of Rabbi Ido Elba — who was sentenced to two years in prison for publishing a halachic article which a majority of the Supreme Court interpreted as a license to

kill Arabs — the justices said that neither of these conditions were necessary. The prohibition is on publishing "words of praise, sympathy or encouragement for acts of violence," independent of the author's intent or of whether the words actually result in violence, they said.

However, since Jabarin was acquitted by agreement on two other counts, his sentence was reduced to a NIS 5,000 fine and a one-year suspended prison sentence.

ACRI said in response that it considered the judgment a severe infringement on freedom of speech, which could have the effect of muzzling journalists.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Jewish cemetery vandalized in Buenos Aires

Unknown vandals, apparently neo-Nazis, vandalized the largest Jewish cemetery in Argentina, in a suburb of Buenos Aires, on Saturday.

According to a spokesman for the Argentinian Jewish community, about 100 tombstones in the cemetery at La Traviada were desecrated, with swastikas daubed on them along with slogans denying the Holocaust.

This was the third vandalism of Jewish cemeteries in Argentina this month. The cemetery in Cordoba, some 700 km. north of Buenos Aires, was desecrated twice this month. *Itim*

Mekorot engineer wins Kaplan Prize

Dr. Yuli Dombé, a senior engineer of the Mekorot water company, is among the nine recipients this year of the Israel Institute of Productivity's prestigious Kaplan Prize. Dombé, who has worked for Mekorot for 20 years, won the prize for developing new equipment based on advanced plastic pipes and underground pumps for drilling and operating wells.

Dombé's system is easily assembled and dismantled, has a usable life span of 50 years — compared to three years for the equipment previously used — and has already saved the company hundreds of thousands of shekels. *David Rudge*



"When One Burns Books, One Will, in the End, Burn People"

Heinrich Heine

During the recent riots, Arabs torched and destroyed Jewish holy books at our yeshiva at Joseph's Tomb in Shechem. When a Jewish holy book is burned, its remains must be buried, just like a person who has died.

On Tuesday, October 22, 1996, at 6 p.m., a funeral procession will set out from Zion Square in Jerusalem, for Har Hamenuhot Cemetery, where the charred remains of these holy books will be buried.

By joining this silent march through Jerusalem, you will express your identification with your people, and your protest against such heinous acts of synagogue desecration and burning of sacred books.

Yeshiva Od Yosef Chai, Shechem

* For information concerning buses to Jerusalem, call Tel. 652 2111

MASS RALLY In support of Security, Hebron, and our Prime Minister

Tuesday, October 29, 1996, 6:30 p.m., On King George St., next to Paris Square, Jerusalem

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Japanese PM seeks coalition allies after election

TOKYO (Reuters) - Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto's Liberal Democratic Party fell short of a clear majority in Japan's general election yesterday and said it would be looking for partners to form a coalition government.

With only eight seats still undecided, the LDP had won 238 of 513 seats, making it impossible to win an overall majority of 251, according to projections by NHK public television based on returns.

Hashimoto had conceded earlier that his party would need to find coalition partners in order to remain in power.

"I don't have the feeling that we won in the House of Representatives (Lower House)," Hashimoto said in a television interview late yesterday evening.

"We would not be able to go it alone [to form a government]."

"I trust that our friendship with the Social Democrats and Sakigake will stay in place," Hashimoto said in his first public remarks on the outcome of the polls.

Hashimoto refused to say, however, if he would approach any other party besides those two, which were his coalition partners in the outgoing government.

"We were not given a clear majority from voters, and we do not have a majority in the Upper House. Our stance is that we would welcome anybody or party [as coalition partners] that will agree with our policies," he said.

The LDP was the dominant partner in the outgoing coalition government, which included the Social Democratic Party and

Sakigake, an LDP splinter group. Despite its failure to win an overall majority, the LDP had improved its performance from the 211 seats it previously held and remains by far the largest political party in Japan.

Shinshinto (New Frontier Party) was expected to come in second by winning about 155 seats in the new 500-member Lower House, down from 160 in the old House, which had 511 seats.

Television projections showed the conservative LDP had outperformed the simple majority of 251 Lower House seats it needed to govern alone. The forecasts, based on partial results, said Hashimoto would fall by a margin of up to 10 seats to secure an outright victory.

The result dashed LDP hopes of regaining the grip on power it has enjoyed for most of the postwar period, and signalled more of the political turmoil that has plagued Japan since the 1993 election that put the LDP out of office.

The LDP, which ruled Japan for 38 years until the last election, came back into government in mid-1994 in an unlikely alliance with the Social Democratic Party and the Sakigake Party, an LDP splinter group.

Going into the election, the junior partners in the outgoing coalition left open the question of whether they would continue their link-up with the LDP.

Voter turnout was 59 percent, down eight percentage points from the previous low set in 1993. Japan has held 19 general elections under the 1947 postwar democratic constitution, with turnout generally in the low 70

percent range. Hashimoto took over as prime minister in January and called the election four weeks ago.

The polls said the fledgling Democratic Party, formed only last month with 52 Lower House defectors from the Social Democrats and Sakigake, was expected to maintain its numbers.

The only clear winner was the Japan Communist Party, which exit polls said could increase its seats to 25 from 15.

Political leaders had described the election as a "landmark" and "turning point" because the new government, if serving a four-year term, would lead Japan into the 21st century.

The election was held nearly a year ahead of schedule because of Hashimoto's belief that he could win sole power for the LDP amid an improving economy and success in cooling down opposition to the presence of U.S. troops in Okinawa.

A record 1,503 candidates from nine parties contested the poll.

It was held under a new system in which multi-seat constituencies were abolished to foster debate on larger policy issues and root out efforts by candidates to appeal to voters with promises of lavish spending on local projects.

Voters cast their ballots for 300 single-seat constituencies, while 200 seats were decided by proportional representation.

In the main policy difference, Shinshinto opposed an LDP plan to raise the sales tax to five percent from three percent next April and said it would freeze the sales tax and cut income taxes.



More than 275,000 people wearing white and carrying white flowers and balloons as a symbol of innocence march in central Brussels to protest pedophilia and show their support for the families of missing and murdered children.

Thousands converge on Brussels to remember murdered children

BRUSSELS (AP) - At least 150,000 people converged on Brussels yesterday to bid a final farewell to youngsters killed by a child-sex gang and to demand that investigators reveal the full truth behind the crimes.

Police crowd estimates made the "white march" one of the biggest demonstrations in recent Belgian history.

The demonstration was launched by tearful appeals from the parents of lost children and from the two girls rescued alive from the makeshift dungeon where the chief kidnap suspect, Marc Dutroux, is accused of keeping his victims.

"Melissa, you will always be our princess. There is only one thing I ask you, that all children are treated like little princes and princesses and never again will they live, like you, through a hell on earth," said Carine Russo, whose daughter Melissa was found dead in August.

The police estimate was expected to rise as packed subway trains ferried thousands into downtown Brussels. The national railroad said it had carried 140,000 people into the capital on 56 special trains.

Marchers to remain peaceful and to bottle up the anger that has erupted into wildcat strikes and sometimes violent demonstrations across the country in recent days.

Most of the marchers dressed in white or carried white ribbons, flowers or balloons.

"We hope this march stays white, and we'll count on you for the future," said Paul Marchal, whose daughter An was also found buried on Dutroux's property.

"This is not a political demonstration," said protester Benny Pieters, who came draped in a white sheet. "This is for the cause of all children all over the world ... for hope in the future."

Fears that the demonstration could spill over into violence have grown amid mounting public outcry at revelations of bungling by police and magistrates and rumors of a cover-up to protect rich and powerful pedophiles.

That outrage has cut across Belgium's deeply divided society, uniting the country's 6 million Dutch speakers and 4 million French speakers in a rare show of national solidarity.

said Brigitte de Stexhe, 49, an embassy official from Brussels. Police placed 1,400 officers on duty to ensure safety at during the demonstration.

Convicted child-rapist Marc Dutroux and his accomplices are accused of kidnapping six girls between eight and 19. After facing repeated sexual abuse, four of the girls were killed.

Police rescued the other two after Dutroux was arrested in August. Under his home, police found a tiny cellar where Dutroux is believed to have kept some of his victims.

Public fury - already intense - became directed against Belgian's judicial authorities after revelations that investigators ignored repeated clues linking Dutroux to the kidnappings.

The arrest of a senior police officer on charges of working with Dutroux in a stolen car racket increased speculation that Dutroux and others received official protection.

Widespread public fears of a cover-up were increased last week when Jean-Marc Connorotte, the lead investigator, was fired, accused of bias for attending a fundraiser for families of missing children.

Chechens cautiously optimistic over Rybkin pledge

GROZNY, Russia (Reuters) - Chechen separatist leaders said yesterday they are cautiously optimistic about assurances from Russia's new envoy to the region that he backed the peace deal signed by ousted security chief Alexander Lebed.

Ivan Rybkin, appointed by President Boris Yeltsin on Saturday to be his envoy to Chechnya, as well as to the post of secretary to the powerful Security Council and his envoy to Lebed, said he would continue Lebed's efforts.

"Blood is still leaking from this wound to the Russian state, which must be healed by everyone pulling together," he told Ekho Moskvy radio on Sunday.

Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has also vowed the August 31 peace deal will not be scrapped and said the Security Council would continue to deal with the affair, words which favor with rebel spokesman Movladi Udugov in the capital Grozny.

"As far as this can influence events, it's hard to say 100 percent, but in general the statements of Chernomyrdin and Rybkin that the Security Council will be pre-emptive in this question give us hope. We'll see," he told reporters.

But he added: "Our side always thought, and still thinks, that Russian politics are usually based not on personalities but on Russian strategic interests only known to [the Russians] themselves."

Akhmed Zakayev, security aide to the separatist leadership, earlier told Itar-Tass news agency that the Kremlin officials' statements had made the separatists optimistic and had been greeted positively in the republic.

"We are ready for cooperation and close working contacts with Ivan Rybkin and any Russian official sincerely interested in the re-establishment of stable peace in the region," Tass quoted Zakayev as saying.

MURDOCH

(Continued from Page 1) recent actual projects.

The Investments Center (part of the Ministry of Industry and Trade) gave the company grants for purchasing computers and other equipment. But the company allegedly sold the equipment, worth millions of dollars, abroad, depositing the profits in the UK. Company managers here then allegedly declared that the equipment was still here and depreciated the value in the books, thus paying less taxes.

News Datacom issued a statement vehemently denying that any offenses were committed.

"The company has filed all required tax returns and paid all applicable taxes," read the statement. "Defamatory comments to the media ... appear to be a result of a continuing extortion campaign by former employees who have been sued in the UK by NDC for defrauding it of millions of dollars. One of these former employees is a fugitive from justice in the US, who was evading taxes in the US and Israel."

The company also denied yielding to Israel's wishes not to send its foreign minister to the Orient House. Foreign Minister Herve de Charette is not visiting the country, and the French deputy minister of health will visit Orient House.

When the Foreign Ministry complained that Chirac would only be stopping at the Western Wall for a matter of moments, while spending more time at Moslem and Christian holy places in the Old City, French officials agreed to lengthen the stay. Finally, when the Foreign Ministry complained that Chirac would be hosting a reception for Palestinians, but not for Israelis, French officials cancelled the reception.

In a briefing for reporters yesterday, Pazner said, "Chirac will be received as a friend, and not as someone who is hostile. He will have the opportunity to discuss all his views at the highest level."

Regarding policy differences on the peace process, Chirac said at Assad's dinner that he would tell Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu that France sees withdrawal from the Golan as part of the need to trade "land for peace."

Chirac arrives here this morning. He will have lunch with President Ezer Weizman at Beit Hanassi, then take a helicopter to Haifa for his speech at the Technion. In the evening, he will be hosted by Weizman at a large dinner at Beit Hanassi.

RABBIS

(Continued from page 1) Doron told the committee members.

The chief rabbis also suggested that a public committee be established to deal with issues of dispute between the secular and religious communities. The rabbis suggested that the president appoint the head of the committee.

With the testimony of the chief rabbis, the committee concluded the stage of gathering evidence. It is to present its conclusions by the end of the month.

Dostum said to offer cease-fire to Taleban

ISLAMABAD (Reuters) - Pakistani Interior Minister Naseerullah Babar conveyed a cease-fire offer from Uzbek leader Gen. Abdul Rashid Dostum to Afghanistan's Taleban militia yesterday, Taleban sources said.

The sources said Babar passed on the proposal at a 30-minute meeting with senior Taleban leaders, including Acting Foreign Minister Mullah Mohammad Ghous, at the Islamic movement's headquarters in the southern city of Kandahar.

Babar, who earlier flew from Islamabad to Dostum's base in the northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif, told them the Uzbek chief had proposed a cease-fire to take effect at noon today.

"We are thinking about it," one Taleban official, Mullah Abdul Jalil, told a correspondent of the Pakistan-based Afghan Islamic Press Agency in Kandahar.

It was not immediately clear if

Dostum had offered a cease-fire only on his own behalf, or whether he was also speaking for his partners in a defense pact signed last week - ousted government military chief Ahmad Shah Masood and Shi'ite Moslem Hezb-i-Wahidat faction leader Karim Khalili.

Pakistan, which denies charges that it supports the Taleban, has been trying to avert fighting between the Sunni Moslem militants over ruling Kabul and forces loyal to Dostum.

A spokesman for Masood said yesterday that Dostum's troops were poised to push down the so-called new road from Bagram air-base, 60 km. north of Kabul, but witnesses said the frontline there did not appear to have changed significantly.

Dostum's reported offer coincided with intense military pressure on the Taleban from Masood's forces, who advanced to within 20 km. of Kabul yesterday.

Body identified in German kidnap case

FRANKFURT (Reuters) - A body found in woodlands outside Frankfurt was formally identified yesterday as that of a kidnapped multi-millionaire, bringing a gruesome end to a three-week saga which has horrified Germany.

Police with dogs found a partly decomposed corpse lying face down under a patch of leaves and a felled pine tree on Saturday. They said yesterday that tests confirmed the body was that of Jakob Fiszman, 40, who was abducted October 1.

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The parents appealed for

Indonesian donations focus reform on non-US citizens

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Large contributions to the Democratic Party by an Indonesian couple have raised questions about foreign influence in US politics and prompted calls for a ban on donations by non-citizens and US subsidiaries of foreign firms.

Republican presidential challenger Bob Dole has honed in on reports of a \$425,000 contribution to President Bill Clinton's Democratic Party by an Indonesian couple with ties to the financial conglomerate Lippo Group, owned by the wealthy Riady family of Indonesia.

Dole and House Speaker Newt Gingrich last week called for investigations into the contributions and for a change in the law that allows non-citizens living in the United States to contribute to political campaigns even though they are not eligible to vote.

"I say it is time to say if you are not a citizen,

you can't contribute to a political campaign in the United States of America, and it is time we changed the law," Dole said in a campaign stop on Friday in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Gingrich said the day before at news conference: "It is far more dangerous in the long run for the American system if foreigners get in the habit of corrupting our processes. I think that is a real danger ... Everybody on the planet will start saying 'How can I manipulate America?'"

But the Democratic Party is not alone in accepting money from non-citizens and foreign companies. Roll Call newspaper reported in a story to appear today that the Republican Party returned a \$15,000 political donation to a Canadian firm, Methanex, after it was learned that the methanol producer had no US operations at the time of the contribution in 1995.

The Boston Globe reported last week that Dole received donations from a wealthy Florida sugar producer who is a Cuban citizen, but who lives in Spain.

Federal election laws allow foreign citizens who are residents of the US to make political contributions even though they are not eligible to vote.

Vice President Al Gore has said the large contributions from Arief and Soraya Wiradinata - a landscaper and his wife who lived in Virginia but who have reportedly returned to Indonesia - to the Democratic Party were legal.

But some campaign finance analysts say such contributions raise questions about the origin of the money and whether foreign interests are enjoying undue influence in American politics and policy.

ROSS

(Continued from Page 1) come guest. He can contribute in a variety of ways to the improvement in relations between Israel and the Arab states by using his influence and stature in the Arab capitals," it said.

In an excerpt of an interview broadcast on Israel Radio, Arafat suggested that he expects the current negotiations to include arrangements for release of Palestinian women prisoners, inauguration of safe passage routes between the West Bank and Gaza, and reaffirmation of further IDF pullbacks in the future.

"The gaps are wide," Arafat declared.

Israeli officials say to negotiate multiple issues now would only mean substantial delays in a Hebron pullback.

Instead, Israel would agree to list outstanding issues as something which will be negotiated in the future.

Meanwhile, a poll conducted among 400 Hebron Arabs last Wednesday to Friday showed 81 percent could not coexist with Jewish settlers; the same proportion considered Netanyahu's recent statements about peace to be insincere; and 44% said they could not accept a call by Arafat to oppose military and suicide attacks against Israelis.

The face-to-face survey by Beit Sahur pollster Dr. Nabil Kokali said 50% expected a new intifada if talks on Hebron fail.

Jon Immanuel contributed to this report.

LEVY

(Continued from Page 1) yielded to Israel's wishes not to send its foreign minister to the Orient House. Foreign Minister Herve de Charette is not visiting the country, and the French deputy minister of health will visit Orient House.

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"LIBI"
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Libi in Jerusalem
A Time to Say Thanks

A ceremony of thanks was recently held at the Migdal David Museum to honor all those who contributed to the success of the impressive event, "Libi in Jerusalem," conducted at this unique suite.

In the picture (from left to right): Mr. Shlomo Korts - "Chic Events"; Col. Meir Blair - Commander of the Libi Fund; Ms. Rahel Weiss - Events Director of the Museum; Maj. Drori Rosmarin-Goldig; Ms. Devorah Rejwan - Director of Friends of Libi in Jerusalem; Mr. Yosef Navon, "Navon Art"; Ms. Shoshi Yaniv, Director of the Migdal David Museum; Mr. Yehuda Waknin, Maintenance Director of the Museum.

LIBI - The Fund for Strengthening Israel's Defense
17 Rehov Arania, Tel Aviv 61070
Tel. 05-6975185, 05-5695610, 05-6968206.
Fax. 05-6976745

הגדל מן האלמל

Chechens cautiously optimistic over Rybkin pledge

Taking the tourist trail to Tuscany

FILM REVIEW
ADINA HOFFMAN

STEALING BEAUTY

Directed by Bernardo Bertolucci. Screenplay by Susan Minot, from a story by Bertolucci. Hebrew title: *Laga' et be'ayof*. English dialogue (with some Italian), Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children.

With Liv Ullmann, Jeremy Irons, Sinead Cusack, Donald McCann, Jean Marais.

AFTER 15 years spent making movies far from his native land, Bernardo Bertolucci returns to Italy with *Stealing Beauty*, an English-language film written by the American novelist Susan Minot and based on a story by the director. Set at the postcard-perfect Tuscan villa of a churchly Irish sculptor (Donald McCann) and his easy-going wife (Sinead Cusack), the picture begins with the arrival at their home of a radiant young American named Lucy Harmon (Liv Ullmann), whose mother, a close poet-friend of Lucy's hosts, has recently died.

Ostensibly, the heroine has traveled to Europe to have her portrait sculpted by Ian and to sunbathe and dine *à la carte* with an international crowd of bohemian houseguests. As it so happens, however, there are several more pressing items on her agenda.

Not only is she looking for clues about her mother's past, but Lucy — a very hip 19-year-old in most other respects — is preparing to lose her virginity. This rather quaint premise gives shape to the whole film, as Lucy searches for the right person to relieve her of her girlish burden, and the other guests look on with raptly parasitic fascination. The ailing playwright (Jeremy Irons) whose bedroom is located beside Lucy's is strengthened by her presence. He fancifully calls her "my walking TV." Meanwhile, the sex lives of the other residents of the villa get

a boost from Lucy's chaste proximity. Her withholding seems to turn them on. They watch her every move, and make her mission (to be deflowered at just the right moment by just the right man) the obsessive subject of their meandering conversation.

Like Bertolucci's earliest films, *Stealing Beauty* is an unabashedly romantic work. Unlike his pregnant, erotic-historical examinations of place, such as *Before the Revolution* and *The Spider's Stratagem*, though, there doesn't appear to be any shadowy underside or deeper meaning to the film's sybaritic visual scheme. The picture is essentially touristic in its approach — both to the rolling Tuscan landscape and to the foibles of youth. So prettified and predictable are the director's views of each in *Stealing Beauty* that it's hard to believe he ever experienced either firsthand, although common sense and a quick glance at his c.v. (that first masterwork, *Before*, completed when he was just 22) tells us that of course he did. So then the question becomes: How does a sharp-seeing child prodigy like Bertolucci turn himself, by middle age, into a shallow day-tripper in the country of his birth and artistic awakening? And why?

But maybe it's disingenuous to sound shocked by the director's transformation. The exotically hollow grandeur of Bertolucci's last few films (*The Sheltering Sky*, *The Little Buddha*) have, in many ways, paved the way for the attractive but generic *Baader Meinhof* Italy that fills the screen with all its golden gorgeousness in *Stealing Beauty*. Bertolucci, it appears, is no longer interested in peering beyond the exquisite surfaces of his homeland, or anyone else's. The orientalist sensualism and spiritual chimerism that crammed his last few films are



Death and the maiden: The paths of a sick playwright (Jeremy Irons) and a virginal visitor (Liv Ullmann) cross in 'Stealing Beauty.'

oof joined by their kitsch Mediterranean equivalent. Could some of the movie's high-gloss pastoralism be ironic? There's just one scene that bears the trace of Bertolucci's former bite and might lead us to think that the director is up to something more complicated than all his loving long-shots of the verdant olive groves would indicate. A young Italian confesses to Lucy that he wants to leave his country and go to America because he's fed up. "But why?" she asks, incredulous. "It's so beautiful here!" The young man doesn't respond; but Bertolucci does, by panning his camera across the highway to a pack of vultures whoring.

It's a harsh moment, and one that seems completely out of place in a film that otherwise features nothing but images suitable for an Alitalia brochure. The only other ugliness or sorrow in the movie comes from Irons's character, who spends his time sweating, spitting, looking nauseous and wheezing a drip around. As the movie ambles on its lovely way, though, and Lucy casts her grateful spell, his presence starts to seem the most precisely calculated and artful of them all; he's playing Death to Tyler's Maidens.

In fact, Bertolucci seems to be attempting quite deliberately to see his homeland in the glowing way the vacationers do. Aside from the American English and Henry James-like premise of Minot's script (set — when else? — in midsummer, at the height of tourist season) Bertolucci has selected a soundtrack that combines Mozart with songs by trendy American performers like Hole and Liz Phair — in short, not the sounds of Italy at all, but of Lucy's Walkman earphones. He has even replaced his usual director of photography, Vittorio Storaro, with the Iranian-born cinematographer Darius (Seven) Khondji, as if he needed a set of non-Italian eyes to take in the place on his behalf, to help him make it new.

Stealing Beauty hardly makes Italy's new (it could have been transplanted without a hitch to a similar house in Provence or on a Greek island) but it does feel at least like an honest accounting of a middle-aged male filmmaker's vaguely sordid relationship to his dazzling young star. This Humbert Humbert element constitutes the modest success of *Stealing Beauty* and it's what gives the film a truer ring than Bertolucci's other recent works. Liv Ullmann is, as advertised,

enchanting to look at, and her manner is unerringly direct, almost totally without pretension. She has a woman's body, a poised teenager's manner and a child's gut feeling for the people around her. All the film's most surprising moments seem to originate from some impulse of hers: her face will suddenly crack wide open into a tremendous toothy smile, or she'll stomp off down a dirt road, her long curly legs wobbling unsteadily beneath her.

Bertolucci, meanwhile, makes no bones about what he's up to here. Just like the perversely curious older characters he has surrounded her with, he's infatuated with the actress and he is, quite explicitly, stealing her beauty — that is, making little effort to enter into her mind or to show scenes from her point of view. Instead, he plays the role of avuncular peeping Tom, and suggests, fairly explicitly, that this is the natural, albeit twisted function of a film director: to spy on the young as they write to loud music, cry in bed, write in their journals, go to parties, get stoned, ride their bikes, and ultimately, do the dirty. If nothing else, *Stealing Beauty* is the frankest of Bernard Bertolucci's movies in a very long time.

TV hopes for support from 'The Mossad'

GREER FAY CASHMAN

THE Mossad has come in from the cold to fill the frames of our television screens.

From tonight at 7 on Channel 2, *The Mossad* will be shown every Monday and Thursday for at least 14 weeks. Reshet, one of the three Channel 2 franchises, has bought up 28 episodes of the 66-part production, says Sari Shein, one of the three scriptwriters of Israel's very own suspense series.

Well, it's not quite Israel's very own. It's a sort of 50/50 deal with an Argentinean company, and about half of the footage was shot in South America. Shein nearly flipped when she learned that the dialogue was going to be trilingual. All the scenes taking place in Argentina are in Spanish, those taking place in Israel are in Hebrew.

And when the Argentineans meet the Israelis, the common language is English. Shein is adamant that it is all fiction. The plot is familiar to all devotees of spy thrillers, especially to those who read books about the Mossad. An explosion in Argentina instigated by internationally known terrorist Moussa Strasser brings Mossad agents and Argentinean doctor Gabriel Smudion to the site. Smudion is there because his brother has been killed in the blast.

An Israeli/Argentinean telenovella unravels, which has all the ingredients to boost the ratings — love, betrayal, murder, vengeance, sex, lust and lots of action.

Basically, Strasser was bad evaded capture, is eventually tracked to Buenos Aires by the Mossad, which plans to kill him and load the blame on to someone else — Smudion, Strasser's vengeful brother. However, the real killer slips up and the result is the exposure of counter-espionage, forbidden liaisons and secrets which were long hidden.

Smudion, after being wrongly charged with the crime, is hijacked by the Mossad and spirited to Israel. Ganot, the real killer, is forced to resign. He continues to investigate what went wrong, however, and what he discovers almost brings about his demise.

The plot is further colored by several subplots, involving illicit love affairs and an abandoned child. There are umpteen loose ends which keep getting tied up with yet more sub-plots to keep the viewer constantly guessing.

Shein, who collaborated with Shai Kanot and Estevan Gouffred to put the script together, says that they didn't (officially) consult with anyone currently or formerly in the Mossad.

"In Israel, every second person is part of the Mossad or knows

someone from the Mossad," she quips, but adds in a more serious vein that "it's all fiction. You have a fantasy in your head about how the Mossad operates. It's all based on rumor. We don't really know how the Mossad works."

The pilot for the show took about two months in produce, but after that, the trio of writers put together an episode a day, "that's how they work in Argentina," says Shein. "They write the episode and shoot it — no fooling around."

Gil Frank, who stars as Matti Rosen, confirms that there were no consultations with anyone in the Mossad. But he says he found it easy to get into the role because he was in army intelligence when he served with the IDF.

Mostly a stage actor, who has done everything from Shakespeare to modern theater, he is currently rehearsing for the Haifa Theater production of Tennessee Williams's *Sweet Bird of Youth*. He really enjoyed his small-screen role — especially, he said, the killing and sex scenes.

What remains now is viewer reaction. If the viewers like the show, predicts Shein, it will pave the way for more local productions, because companies like Reshet will be willing to shell out more money — and note that happens, it will encourage much greater creative efforts from all directions.



'The Mossad' cast made 66 episodes of the fictional series.

'Sweet Bird of Youth' flies to Haifa on the winds of history

HELEN KAYE

WRITE about violence in American life only because I am not so well acquainted with the society of other countries." Tennessee Williams wrote in his introduction to his *Sweet Bird of Youth*, the Haifa Theater production which opens October 29.

Director Helena Kant-Howson only half agrees with him: "I'm trying to see it through his eyes," she says, "but doing it here in Israel with Israeli actors, the issue of purity of blood, power, tolerance and intolerance take on special significance without doing anything to the play."

Williams says he writes about violence, but he was a poet, so he saw the world through a poet's eyes! He saw the social implications of power's ability to corrupt but he also understood corruption in its literal sense, of the decay that's intrinsic to all human existence. What fascinates me is the public's obsession with success, and its equal readiness to crucify those who fail."

Chance Wayne (Gil Frank) represents youth to the Princess Kosmonopolis (Liora Rivlin), a neurotic movie star on the run from herself. He's 29, her gigolo and a loser. Once he was St. Cloud's

golden boy, but all he's done is moved from failure to failure and now, after 10 years, he has come home in a last-ditch effort to reclaim his lost love and so, perhaps, his lost glory.

But Boss Finley wants him out. His son Tom (Gal Hoyberger) wants him dead and castrated — (the castration of a black for presumably violating a white girl broods over the play). In the end the princess unceremoniously dumps him, and Chance, with a queer dignity, turns to meet his fate.

Sweet Bird of Youth was a hit when it premiered on Broadway in 1959 with a young Paul Newman as Chance and Geraldine Page as the princess. They reprised their roles in the 1962 movie, also a hit.

This is the second time in as many years that Kant-Howson has been back to Israel. She directed *Goldfaden's Dream* for the Israel Yiddish Theater last year.

Helena Kant-Howson is small and slim with a helmet of dark hair that frames an arresting face. She was born in Poland during World War II. The Nazis killed her father, but she and her mother, a committed communist, survived the war in hiding.



Director Helena Kant-Howson sees Tennessee Williams through Israeli eyes.

Inspired by a performance of the opera *Aida*, Helena Kant, as she was then, decided that theater was for her. She studied acting and won prizes at the Warsaw Theater School. She won her first starring role in *Goldfaden's Dream* with Ida Kaminska's Yiddish Theater. It was

one of the few theaters permitted to travel by Poland's post-war communist regime, and so the company took the play to London's Shaftesbury Theater.

One of the electricians there was an out-of-work actor called Richard Howson, the son of a then NATO admiral. They were married in 1964 and he followed her to Poland where he enrolled in film school.

The couple returned to England in 1966, where Kant-Howson began her new life as a director, thanks to her Warsaw training and a director's course at RADA (Royal Academy of Dramatic Art) which had the sense to hire her immediately afterwards as a teacher and director.

Israeli author Aharon Megged saw some work she was doing with black students in a community theater setting, and invited her to come to Israel.

She, Richard and their son Nicholas came in 1971 — her mother had immigrated to Jerusalem in 1968 — and stayed for two years. "I came as an experiment" she says. "I set up a community theater in Kiryat Yovel, worked at Habimah and at Tel Aviv University, but then the Yom

Kippur War came and we went back to England." She's not afraid to say she was afraid at the time. And she doesn't regret a minute of her two years. Every time she comes, she says, "it is a re-immersion with my people... and a sort of guilt that I'm not here."

Ibsen's *A Doll's House* and *Boesman and Lena* by Athol Fugard were among the plays she did for Habimah. She has directed in Poland, Canada and of course all over the UK, most significantly at Theater Cwyrnd in Wales where she was artistic director from 1990 until last year.

Her productions there attracted national attention, won awards like the Peter Brook Open Space Award in 1994, and some of them, like *St Joan*, *Jane Eyre*, and the Welsh play *Full Moon* transferred to the West End. Her production of Williams's *The Rose Tattoo* got her a best-director nomination in the 1995 British Regional Theater Awards.

She brings a European dimension to her work, says the critics, who Kant-Howson qualifies as creating "within a wider context, and with more soul. The wind of history is always shaking the window pane."

Mail-order discs reach Israel

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

FOR years it was impossible to create a joint venture between the three leading Israeli record manufacturers, Helicon, Hed Arzi Music and NMC. But now a collection of Israeli pop music, culled from the existing catalog of these three labels, is on the market. It features 60 songs on four CDs with the best of the best of Israeli songs and singers.

The label on the cover is Media Direct — an English-based company which has operated in Israel for the past two years, with another branch in South Africa. It was Media Direct president and CEO Arnon Orbach who convinced the local disc industry to allow him to create this collection. The 49-year-old Israeli, working from a spacious office in Ramat Gan, believes the habits of disc purchasing in Israel are about to change.

Media Direct is the first mail-order disc company in Israel. It has the rights to distribute here the products of Time Warner Enterprise and Time Life Books and Music and has a catalog of musical collections ranging from classical to jazz, rock and pop.

"Since we began we have gathered 50,000 customers," Orbach says. "We have our own customers' club with 10,000 members who enjoy certain benefits after earning bonus points." Most of the customers, Orbach explains, "come from the periphery. We have people in kibbutzim and in the north and the south of the country. There are even Arab customers but much fewer from north Tel Aviv, for example. Two-thirds of the customers are aged 25-40, which directs the overall product the company offers in its mail service."

The third edition of Media Direct's six-monthly catalog has just hit the roads and was sent to all customers. It is the most impressive the company has come up with and

includes, aside from the foreign collections, usually in boxes of four, six or 10 discs, all the current catalog of Israeli discs of the three companies.

And of course there is the Israeli collection which is a big hit. "We sold 13,000 such collections and I believe we will sell much more. And I'm sure we will create a new somewhat similar collection in the next year. This first one was quite eclectic. The next one will be more specific and thematic."

The prices Media Direct offers its customers are not necessarily the lowest in the market. "We don't try to compete on price. We offer a good reasonable price but we cannot compete with any store out there. We don't offer one-time deals, but rather an ongoing one and we offer our first rate service. And if the customer is not happy we always replace the product. Our motto is that the customer is always right." Media Direct receives about 7,000 phone orders each month. Pop and rock are obvious hits and although the classical-music items are not as varied, there are more than a few interesting sets there as well.

The *Sensational Seventies* features Wild Cherry, Donna Summer, Lobo, Tina Turner and many others; *Once in a Lifetime* stars The Smiths, The Pogues, Seal, Talk Talk and others; and *Timeless Music Collection* showcases, among others, Louis Armstrong, Perry Como, Pat Boone, Shirley Bassey and Sarah Vaughan.

And music lovers interested to get an advance taste of what they are purchasing can call a specific phone number and listen to selections from any given disc collection. They can also receive by fax the complete list of tracks and performers in each collection. If you wish to join the Media Direct customer list and receive its current catalog, call the company on (03) 638-8434.

Sounds of Andalusia

HELEN KAYE

IF the audience know the music that is called Andalusian — in memory of the Jews who came to North Africa from Spain and Portugal — it will clap and sing.

Over the past year more than 300 letters and hundreds of phone calls came to the Israel Andalusian Orchestra (IAO) offices in Ashdod. The only orchestra of its kind in the world, the IAO inaugurates its second season tomorrow, at the Ramle Municipal Auditorium, with a concert of instrumental and vocal music featuring bard Emil Zrihan.

This year the IAO will play a series of five concerts in nine cities. "The emphasis," says IAO music director and conductor Dr. Avi Ilan-Amsaleg, "will be on vocal music and D'jiri, or the Algerian style."

The 35-member IAO is made up of classically trained musicians from the former USSR and those who play traditional instruments, such as the mandolin and the oud, who have never seen a musical note. This music, which Ilan Amsaleg likens to a rich language with 1,000 dialects, is part of a vast and ancient oral tradition, "and now I'm writing it down," he says.

The 1996 budget is NIS 2 million, 50% of which comes from the Ministry of Education and Culture, 25% from the Ashdod municipality and 25% is earned income. The IAO hopes to broaden its subscriber base from 2,000 to 3,000 this year and plans an international Andalusian music festival for next summer.

Clapton and Crow make sweet music together

PENNY STARR

ERIC Clapton and Sheryl Crow are making sweet harmony — on stage and off it. A few months ago they performed together at a shindig thrown by tubby tenor Luciano Pavarotti. More recently Crow joined Clapton on stage at a birthday bash for designer Giorgio Armani. And last week they performed together at LA's Viper Club.

Out of the limelight, Crow's and Clapton's romantic association is a hot new item, although they have known each other for several years. Before her hit album *Tuesday Night Music Club*, Crow wrote songs for Clapton and also sang backup. It is only in recent months that they have been performing duets off-mike. New York's *Daily News* describes the couple as being "madly in love with one another."

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OPINION

Non, merci

RICHARD Z. CHESNOFF

EUROPEANS love getting angry at Israel.

Maybe it's because the French, Germans, Italians and most everyone else on the continent swear over dependence on Arab oil.

Or maybe, in some perverse way, vilifying the Jewish state

ers of the European Union voted to send a high-ranking special envoy to the Middle East to raise Europe's political profile in the region and persuade America to make room for European peace brokers.

"Frankly," says an old friend at the Quai d'Orsay, "we want to play a very important role."

Well, non, merci, nein danke and no thanks! The last thing the fragile Middle East peace process needs is heavy-handed Euro-meddling in the already heavily burdened effort to bring calm to the region's long-suffering peoples.

EUROPE'S pro-Arab tilt is bound to worsen the situation. Palestinian leaders would be less open to compromise, and Israelis would feel compelled to raise an already high guard.

Besides, White House and State Department interlocutors seem to be handling things rather well on their own.

What's more, our European allies are hardly in a position to teach others how to live in peace. Britain, which set the stage for the current Middle East mess by double-dealing Arabs and Jews in the decades when it controlled Palestine, now faces deadly new problems in its own equivalent of the Middle East conundrum, Northern Ireland.

France, too, which never recovered from its loss of power in Syria and Lebanon, is bucking new terror and violence on its own turf. Just this week, Corsican separatists blew up a major chunk of the City Hall in Bordeaux.

Then there's a little thing called Bosnia. For years all those peace-making Europeans sat on their hands, unable to deal with the continent's worst conflagration

The last thing the fragile Middle East peace process needs is heavy-handed Euro-meddling

helps relieve guilt about the way Europeans treated their own Jews during World War II.

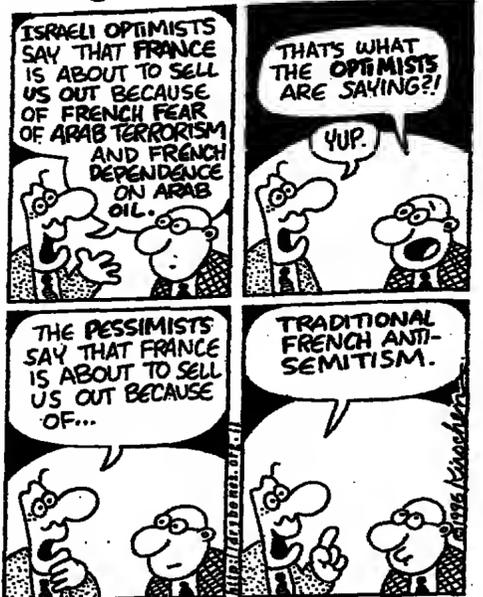
Whatever the case, the recent spate of Arab-Israeli violence in the West Bank and Gaza has unleashed a new torrent of enthusiastic indignation.

As European commentators and governments tell it, Israel's behavior - not Palestinian riots - was solely responsible for the deaths of 78 people on both sides. Indeed, European outrage over Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's policies makes his loudest American critics sound like members of Hadassah.

Worse yet, the Europeans have decided that oow's the time to try to put their foot in the door and play an active role in Mideast peace-making.

Returning to Gaza from Washington, Yasser Arafat was wined and dined in Paris. And at a summit meeting in Dublin, lead-

Dry Bones



since World War II. And to whom did they turn to help stop the slaughter and broker a peace settlement? Why, the US, which sent 15,000 troops to the former Yugoslavia.

Ironically, this week's European press is filled with stories of how badly area leaders actually handle Mideast affairs. Turkey, which considers itself European, has a new Islamic prime minister, Necmettin Erbakan. His first moves included ignoring Washington's call for a united economic front against the terrorist state of Iran by announcing a multimillion-dollar pipeline project with Tehran. He followed

that up with an official visit to Libya's lunatic leader Muammar Gaddafi.

At a joint press conference in Tripoli, host Gaddafi denounced Turkish treatment of Kurdish terrorist rebels, leaving Erbakan gasping in horror and Turkey in the midst of a political crisis that could topple its government.

Maybe before they try to straighten out other people, the Europeans should try to clean up their own messes.

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Biased would-be broker

ONE of the main reasons for French President Jacques Chirac's visit to Israel today is to push for greater European, and especially French, involvement in the peace process. Chirac wants Europe to co-sponsor the talks, and would like to send a French envoy with a role roughly equivalent to that of US Middle East coordinator Dennis Ross.

The government in this case is 100 percent right. If ever there were a state which disqualified itself from the role of an honest broker, France is it.

France has made no secret of the fact that it wholeheartedly supports the entire Arab agenda in the talks: A full Israeli withdrawal to the 1949 armistice lines, both on the Golan and in Judea and Samaria; the establishment of a Palestinian state with east Jerusalem as its capital; and a full withdrawal from Lebanon. This in itself is enough to disqualify France from involvement in the talks. The role of a broker is to try to help the two sides narrow their gaps and find acceptable compromises. It is not to pressure one side into accepting the other side's positions.

France's bias is so extreme, however, that the country is even willing to endorse Palestinian violence against Israelis. When the PA police led a shooting war against Israeli civilians and soldiers three weeks ago, Chirac telephoned PA Chairman Yasser Arafat to offer his "support." No self-respecting country could accept a facilitator which "supports" the use of live fire against its troops as a legitimate negotiating tactic.

To add insult to injury, Chirac initially announced that though he intends to be the first head of state ever to address the PA's legislative council, he would not visit the Knesset. This move aroused such antagonism from both sides of the Israeli political spectrum - Labor faction chairman Ra'anan Cohen sent Chirac a telegram stating that the Knesset represents the entire Israeli public and that a visit to this body is therefore obligatory no matter how much Chirac dislikes the current government - that Chirac finally acquiesced to such a visit yesterday. However, while he will come to the Knesset, he still refuses to address it.

The picture is no different with respect to Syria. It is not every world leader who merits the enthusiastic reception Chirac received in Damascus this weekend, complete with a staged 20,000-man "spontaneous welcome" by the local citizenry. Chirac, however, earned his welcome by endorsing Syria's position that any talks with Israel must be based on prime minister Yitzhak Rabin's verbal promise to cede the entire Golan. The fact that Syrian President Hafez Assad rejected Rabin's offer at the time, being unwilling to accept Rabin's demands for normalization with Israel in exchange, appears to bother Chirac as little as does the fact that Assad was conducting a terrorist war against Israel throughout the so-called peace talks.

France's fondness for terrorists does not end

with Assad; it is also one of the staunchest defenders of Iraq and Iran against US efforts to contain these two rogue states. Prior to the Gulf war, France was one of Iraq's main nuclear suppliers. Not only did it build the Osirak nuclear reactor which Israel bombed in 1981, but it also continued supplying Baghdad with nuclear materiel until just before the Gulf War began. According to documents uncovered by the UN Special Commission in Iraq, in January 1991, Saddam Hussein had plans to build a nuclear warhead with fuel supplied by France and Russia. This was apparently one of the main reasons the US decided not to pursue the ground war against Saddam.

France was also the first western country to resume commercial ties with Iraq after the war, and it has already signed an oil contract with Baghdad, which will take effect as soon as UN sanctions against the country are lifted. This September, Paris even went so far as to withhold support from a US missile strike against an Iraqi invasion of the Kurdish zone - despite the fact that France is part of a four-nation force which has been protecting this zone since 1991. Even Germany, which usually vies with France for the title of the EU's greatest appeaser of terrorist states, supported the US move.

France's position with respect to Iran is little better. It insists that there is no evidence linking Iran to the sponsorship of terror, and thereby justifies its extensive trade with Teheran. Not surprisingly, Paris was one of the most vocal opponents of a US law passed this August to impose sanctions on companies that invest in Iran and Libya.

Thus even if France were completely neutral with respect to the issues on the negotiating table, its fawning support of the region's most unregenerate terrorist states would undoubtedly make it unacceptable to Israel.

The tragic irony of all this is that France was once Israel's closest ally. Next week is the 40th anniversary of the Sinai Campaign, in which Israel, France and Britain coordinated an attack on Egypt after the latter illegally seized the Suez Canal. Britain later proved an unreliable ally in the face of international pressure, but France backed Israel's diplomatic position to the hilt.

However, France's objective in all this was to regain control of Suez, and once it became clear that the rest of the world would not let it do so, it no longer had much use for Israel. The turning point in the relationship came in 1967, when Charles de Gaulle, furious with Israel for carrying out a preemptive strike against massed Egyptian troops over his objections, retaliated with a punitive arms embargo. France's strategic decision to respond to the oil crunch and the rise of Arab terrorism in the 1970s and 1980s with appeasement only deepened the breach.

Most Israelis would be delighted to see a reversal of this decision and a return to the close relationship of 40 years ago. Even a genuine neutrality would be welcome. For now, however, France remains a rabid partisan - and as such, it has no place in the Middle East peace talks.

Dole as defender of Israel

BOB Dole's posing as Israel's defender and demanding a tougher US stand against Iraq is this American election year's most bogus stance. Despite looming problems with the Clinton administration Israel would be worse off, Dole's record shows, were he to win the presidential election in two weeks.

No American politician has more of a history of opposition to Israel and appeasement of Saddam Hussein and other radical Arab dictators than Dole. His behavior played a key role in the weak US signals and vacillation that emboldened Iraq's dictator to invade Kuwait in 1990.

In the 1980s, Dole repeatedly urged sanctions against Israel while lobbying for credits to Iraq. US intelligence reports showing Baghdad used this money illegally to buy arms didn't affect Dole's stand, perhaps because the funds were largely used to purchase Kansas grain.

Soft on Saddam, Dole attacked Israel. In 1989, when Israel seized Abd el-Karim Obeid, a Hizbullah leader active in organizing terror attacks from southern Lebanon, Hizbullah retaliated by murdering a US officer, Lt.-Col. William Higgins. Rather than condemn the killers, Dole blamed Israel, saying it should have known its action would endanger American lives. "Perhaps a little more responsibility on the part of the Israelis would be refreshing," Dole said.

The next year he called for cutting aid to Israel and opposed US

recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. He sniped at American Jewish leaders, complaining, "They wouldn't give one penny to anybody else. It's selfish." In fact, Jewish groups are one of the strongest lobbyists for foreign aid programs in general.

It's a bad joke. Jerusalem would be worse off were the senator to win

On April 12, 1990 Dole was among a delegation of US senators who visited Saddam in Baghdad. Having no idea that the transcript of the meeting would be published, Dole expressed his views clearly.

Despite the Iraqi president's strident anti-Americanism, his campaign to become the Arab world's leader and his bellicose threats against Israel, Dole assured him that the US was not criticizing Iraq.

The senator did remind the dictator, however, that the US had condemned Israel's 1981 raid destroying Iraq's nuclear reactor. Without this operation, Baghdad would have had nuclear weapons in 1991, in time to use them against US troops in the Gulf or, more likely, deterring any resistance to his seizure of Kuwait.

Dole even directly suggested to Saddam that the dictator's efforts to intimidate the US were work-

ing. He disparaged the US media for criticizing Saddam, stating inaccurately that a Voice of America commentator had been fired for including Iraq in a list of countries ruled by dictatorships.

Far from standing up to Iraq's aggressive policy, Dole assured Saddam that president Bush

wanted better bilateral relations and not only opposed anti-Iraq sanctions then being considered by Congress but was ready to veto them.

Dole concluded with his conviction that Saddam was a man of peace who might be won over to a moderate, pro-US position.

Feeding Saddam's ego, Dole explained, "We know the importance of Iraq. You are the second [largest] country in oil reserves; your country is the second largest in the region." Until there was a comprehensive agreement to keep weapons of mass destruction out of the region - and Israel agreed not to have any nuclear weapons - US policy would not oppose Iraq's developing these types of arms.

Not surprisingly, Saddam responded, "That is fine by the Arabs."

WAS DOLE merely putting on an act, or was he sincere in his

total misassessment of Saddam? Arriving in Israel two days later, Dole told Israeli foreign minister Moshe Arens that Iraqi threats against Israel were not to be taken seriously.

Arens wrote in his diary: "I was astounded by Dole's reaction to the Iraqi dictator, who had started the war against Iran, broken the international convention against the use of chemical warfare to which Iraq was a signatory and was now threatening Israel."

Given this naivete, shared by Bush and others in the administration, it isn't surprising that Saddam concluded America would not react strongly to his invasion of Kuwait.

It is very easy for Dole today to mouth tough words against Saddam and proclaim himself the champion of moving the US embassy to Jerusalem. Whatever the merits of his stand on the embassy, the timing threatened the regional peace process.

These positions seem merely cynical steps linked to Dole's presidential ambitions. A Dole advisor told Time magazine's Michael Kramer, "His people told him to neutralize the issue and get ahead of the other candidates. Jews like it, you know."

There is no evidence that Dole has really learned anything about dealing with Middle East dictators or handling a fragile peace process.

The writer is senior resident scholar at Bar-Ilan University's Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

VOTING IN ISRAEL

Sir, - It is a great privilege to be able to live in Israel and vote in an American election, and because I used an absentee ballot, I voted before most Americans. My father was not a citizen with voting privileges in his native Russia, and when he became a citizen in the US, he voted for Al Smith, Franklin Roosevelt and all the Democrats. I am a citizen of the US and of Israel and I vote in both countries.

I voted for Bibi. Not because of peace, or territory, or religion. But because I wanted Israel to remain a Jewish state. Recently, in a debate in the Knesset, Shimon Peres claimed that real Jewishness is peace, common sense and respect for human beings. That is how liberal Jews in America have thought, spoken and voted for a hundred years. And the intermarriage rate there is over 50 percent! In my last congregation, I was told not to "offend the feelings of our Christian members."

I have received and mailed back my absentee ballot to Philadelphia where I lived for many years. I voted for Bob Dole. I have very little in common with Bob Dole, except my age. Like my father, I too voted Democrat most of my life. Later he

and I discovered that Roosevelt was not such a great friend of the Jews, and that if he had lived longer, there would probably not have been a Jewish state. If McGovern had been president instead of Nixon, probably there would not have been an airlift to Israel in the Yom Kippur War. On the other hand, when George Bush stepped on Shamir, I voted for Clinton. And when the headline in *Ha'ariv* tells me that Clinton is going to step on Bibi in his second term, I decided that a first-term Bob would be better than a second-term Bill.

I may be all wrong. We often get the opposite of what we vote for, even if our candidate is elected. But I am not wrong to be a one-issue voter. If an Arab member of the Knesset can hold up a black flag there to identify himself with the Palestinians, I, as an Israeli citizen, and as an American citizen, have the right to vote for Bob, because I want Israel to remain Jewish, even if my calculation is mistaken, and I have the right to vote for Bob, because I want Bill to have less leverage upon Bibi, even if my calculation is mistaken. Jerusalem. JACOB CHINITZ

STAUENCH FRIENDS

Sir, - May I express appreciation, praise and thanks to Mr. Patrick Goodenough for his article of October 2, "Staunch friends," which helps counter the calumny spread - or is it spawned - by Israel's enemies, Jewish and non-Jewish, in Israel and abroad. His expressions clear the air of the "bad smell" to which he refers when evil, or to be charitable, misguided people lie and utter hypocritical condemnations of our country.

The truth: opening the tunnel egress was not an act of provoca-

tion. The murder and maiming of Israelis, and in retaliation the deaths of Palestinians were provoked by others' acts and expressions. Perhaps this will be understood finally in Gaza, Cairo, Paris and even by Peace Now demonstrators.

I lament the loss of innocent lives on both sides and protest against the false attribution of cause to Israel. Thank you, Mr. Goodenough, for sharing these emotions and truths. Jerusalem. MOSHE BERLIN

ETHIOPIAN IMMIGRANTS' ECONOMIC FUTURE

Sir, - In an otherwise excellent article published in your *Monday Magazine* of October 2 on the economic conditions of Ethiopian immigrants, my point of view was unintentionally distorted. I was described in the article as "leaving hope out of the equation," and instead, seeing a future of impoverishment and economic deprivation as being the only possibility for Ethiopian immigrants here in Israel.

Nothing could be further from the truth. For the past three years, the Israel Association for Ethiopian Jews, where I serve as director, has been attempting to persuade everyone who will listen that a historic choice - and a great opportunity - is facing Israel and the Jewish people. Both in regards to Ethiopian immigrant adults, and especially concerning Ethiopian children and youth, Israel has in its power to create the conditions that will allow this community to become full and equal partners in Israeli society on every level, in the process enormously enriching the and strengthening Israel and the Jewish people as a whole. Or Israel can continue the lack of direction, half measures and neglect that has so far characterized many aspects of the absorption process, with increasingly disturbing results.

There is hope, plenty of hope. But if we rely only on hope, instead of on conscious policies that will give a fair chance to Ethiopian children and adults, hope will indeed melt away.

RABBI MICHA ODDENHEIMER, Director, Israel Association for Ethiopian Jews Jerusalem.

Disney's Jerusalem

MITCHELL SILVER

I'd recommend Disney giving the Jesus the same wise, reassuring voice they provide the Lincoln automobile.

Disney could be trusted to handle expertly the melange of contrasting

firepower to keep order on the slides, raft rides, tube rides and diving areas of these lawless regions. But I am confident that Israeli intelligence operatives can infiltrate cells of Israeli adolescents and

historical periods and religious faiths Jerusalem encompasses. Anyone who has been to Epcot Center has seen Disney planners build a world in which a Parisian street borders a Mexican plaza next to a Bavarian town across from a Chinese square, alongside a Canadian trading post; a harnois global village contained in one square mile.

Surely Disney can coordinate a Hasmonean Tunnel alongside an Akko Mosque, keeping everyone happily humming, "It's a small world after all."

The beauty of this idea, from an Israeli security perspective, is that it would free up Israeli forces for where they are really needed - the water parks around the Kinneret. I know skeptics will say the IDF is neither tough enough nor has the

patrons to negotiate with these teenagers from a position of strength; and the teenagers would see that there may be a price for not allowing others occasional use of the slides without fear of grave bodily harm.

The way to true peace with security? It's clear. All people of good will should rally around the slogans "Disney to the Temple Mount" and "The IDF to Luna Ga!"

The writer is a philosophy teacher spending a year in Israel.

Correction: Gerald Steinberg is a senior associate at Bar-Ilan University's Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, and not as stated in Friday's paper.

POSTSCRIPTS

TRUTH-IN-LABELING has come to America's drinking water: a new law requires that they be told what's coming out of their taps.

"I know that many of us take safe drinking water for granted," President Clinton said. "Unfortunately, it's not always so."

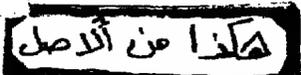
For the first time, the law requires local water agencies in its annual reports disclosing the chemicals and bacteria that tap

water contains. The information is to be written in simple language and sent directly to homes along with water bills.

PTUI!

Philippe Cailleau of Le Frechou, France, won the Meloo Secc Spitters World Championship with a seed he propelled 6.93 meters.

His effort fell far short of the record of 10.29 metres.





srael

ACT UP

The Script Is Still Being Written



By RICHARD L. BERKE

IF Bill Clinton is re-elected in 18 days, he will face a new reality for a politician whose career has always been directed toward the next campaign: At age 50, he will be a lame duck.

Freed, finally, from the constraints of a perpetual campaign, he would have the extraordinary opportunity to run the nation as he (and Congress) sees fit. So it is noteworthy that Mr. Clinton, whose biggest electoral worry these days is overconfidence, has barely sketched a vision of what he would do as President over the next four years. In his debate with Bob Dole here last week, Mr.

Clinton four times evoked grand images of a "bridge to the 21st century" or a "bridge to the future." But the President espoused mostly vague concepts about what he wants that future to be, with examples like more worker training and more opportunities for people to attend college. His specific references were mostly small-bore initiatives that have been the hallmark of his campaign, like limited tax credits for first-time home buyers and parents of young children.

"To the election campaign Clinton has been expressing virtually only trivialities," said Fred Greenstein, a historian and expert on the Presidency at Princeton University. "Most of these things were self-eating at the time he promised them and were not major monuments."

Forecasting what a second Clinton term might bring is impossible, he said, because "Clinton has

Clinton would be the first Democrat barred from seeking a third term.

been so many things — he's been so protean, so variable that you don't know."

There was never such mystery over the intentions of the last President to serve two terms, Ronald Reagan, because his political career was founded on a few basic tenets. The chief critic of big Government, Mr. Reagan was not expected to put forth new programs; Democrats have long

been the ones to do that.

But Mr. Clinton (who would be the first Democrat subject to the Constitutional amendment prohibiting Presidents from running yet again) has few readily identifiable ideological moorings: in the first half of his term he moved left by raising taxes and proposing a massive health care overhaul; in the second half, he tacked right, announcing that "the era of big Government is over."

Mr. Greenstein says that if he faced a more formidable rival, Mr. Clinton would be more imaginative and would be "working hard to come up with some ambitious proposal for a second term — something to sell himself with."

Consider the fundamental questions that have gone totally unaddressed: What would Mr. Clinton

Continued on page 3

FRED R. CONRAD/The New York Times

Alienated Anglos

Animosity toward Quebec's English-speakers is on the rise.

2

By Anthony Depalma

Out of Africa

The continent is wary about fending for itself.

2

By Howard W. French



Bright Lights

Candidates drawn to big cities by big contributions.

3

By Leslie Wayne

Don't Forget Soccer Dads

What's a Soccer Mom Anyway?

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

ONCE upon a time, like about three months ago, a soccer mom was just that.

She turned up where she was expected. Pacing the sidelines of her children's games, she wore T-shirts emblazoned with slogans like "I don't have a life. My kids play soccer." One soccer mom in Indiana died leaving a will asking that all memorial donations be made to her church league. A soccer mom at her most flashy might be found in a television commercial, peddling an improved brand of tuna fish.

Then suddenly, some time around the Republican convention, the Soccer Mom became mythic. The hands that steered the mini-van were also deciding whether to turn left or right in the Presidential election. If Bob Dole did not find a way to appeal to such women, they might swing the election for Bill Clinton. In his closing statement during last week's Presidential debate in San Diego, Mr. Dole even addressed soccer moms directly, saying he understood their problems.

In Campaign '96, the Soccer Mom became oracle.

Misleading

But there is some question whether the mythic version actually exists. The Soccer Mom is either on the threshold of joining the Silent Majority and the Angry White Male of previous elections in the Swing Voters' Hall of Fame, or of being banished back to the sidelines. Believers say the soccer mom embodies the concerns of a huge swath of suburban female voters. But doubters find the title too limiting or misleading and even soccer dads will tell you there just aren't that many.

"It is one of the most overused terms in America," said Pat Schroeder, the Democratic Congresswoman, who as a former soccer mom said she personally never found much difference between suburban mothers and fathers when it came to politics. "Everyone is talking about soccer moms — what they can do to move them. I keep wondering about the demographics — are the moms that different from the dads, and why?"

Gov. Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey, the Republicans' soccer mom archetype, with both a son and



A mother at her son's soccer practice in Brookdale Park in suburban Essex County, N.J.

daughter who played, is also skeptical of the term. "It is unfair in the sense that there are soccer dads as well," said Mrs. Whitman. "I have a problem when you lump people into a group, because you lose a lot of people."

Certainly the soccer moms were not previously considered a distinct breed. A rough computer scan of major American newspapers found just eight references linking soccer moms and politics before 1996, when the number suddenly jumped well past 100.

Susan B. Casey may well have coined the first political usage during Denver's 1995 municipal elections with her slogan "A Soccer Mom for City Council." It was, she thought, a way of denoting herself as everyneighbor.

"It has nothing to do with women or men — 'soccer parent' just didn't sound like a good phrase," said Mrs. Casey, who won. "If I were a male I probably would have said soccer dad, but it wasn't meant to be an appeal to women. Soccer dads know that soccer moms are the same. Actually the dads I know are worse than the moms and kids — they are much more involved."

Defined in a strict sense, soccer moms can't possibly constitute a major bloc of the well over 50 million women who could be expected to vote in a Presidential election. The United States Youth Soccer Association puts the

Continued on page 4

The World

Africa Hears Indifference in a U.S. Offer to Help

By HOWARD W. FRENCH

WITH its more than 50 young and fragile states, for decades Africa has been the theater of as many conflicts, from bloody civil wars to cross-border clashes, as any continent. Throughout, if a single element distinguished African strife, it was foreign involvement.

From the superpower proxy struggles that destroyed Angola and tore at the Horn of Africa, to the near-breakdown of states like Nigeria and Zaire, foreign powers almost always played a prominent role, backing one side or another by intervening directly or by supplying arms, advisers or mercenaries.

Since the cold war ended, however, Africa has ceased being the coveted checkerboard that it was for so long, with its resources tied down while its numerous United Nations votes were signed up.

That Lonely Feeling

And this has led to a sense of marginalization that is eating away at Africa's confidence in the rest of the world. A couple of weeks ago, Africans heard Secretary of State Warren Christopher urge them to set up an African peacekeeping force to be used on the continent. The proposal was intended to convey a sense of concern by the outside world, but for many Africans it has done the opposite: Given recent history, they are left with the strong suspicion that Mr. Christopher's proposal could result in the further writing off the continent with a grand-sounding plan for which no real funding or interest would follow.

"Why is it that Africa is the only continent being called upon to set up its own intervention force?" said Salih Booker, a specialist in African affairs at the Council on Foreign Relations. "Africans have a long history of participating in peace-keeping efforts all over the world, and have spilled their blood with the best of them. There is a nasty double standard operating here."

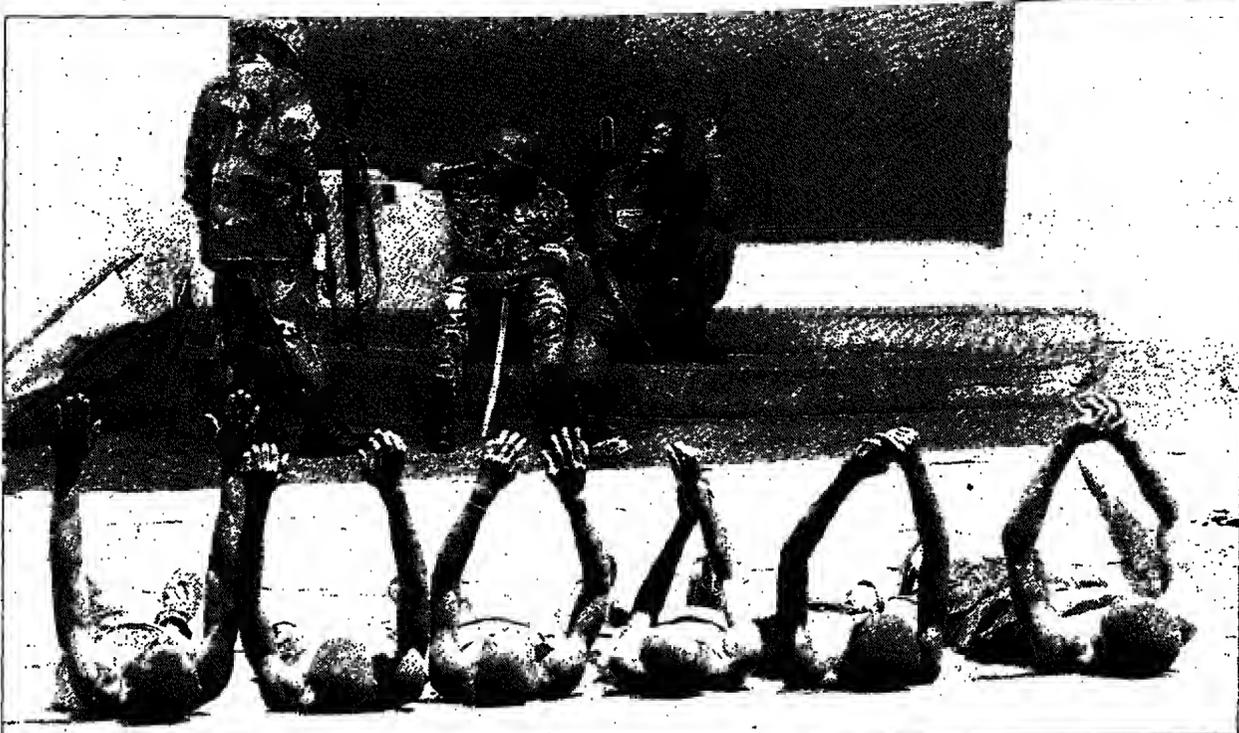
The answer may be as simple as that in places like Bosnia and the Middle East, the big powers feel that too much is at stake for them to forgo close control. But that only helps make the case for a fear of marginalization in Africa.

After the experiences of Somalia, where an American-led humanitarian intervention brought the United States casualties and political humiliation, and then Rwanda, where the world appeared paralyzed in the face of one of the century's worst ethnically driven killing sprees, the outside powers that had so dominated Africa's modern history are now finding they have no more stomach for large-scale military operations on this continent. Of the industrialized nations, France alone still seems to have any taste for such interventions — typically to prop up client regimes or protect its own citizens.

In America, at least, the lesson that policy makers have drawn is that politically speaking, conflagrations in Africa, with their impenetrable ethnic hatreds, were not worth risking the life of a single American soldier.

But now Burundi, Rwanda's ethnic twin and neighbor, is on the brink of what could be another genocidal civil war, and the outside world knows that in the age of satellite-beamed television images, simply walking away from such human catastrophe will not do.

That was the backdrop for Secretary of State Christopher's tour of sub-Saharan Africa this month, in which he was promoting what the United States sees as the best solution to crises that can be expected in Africa for years



West African troops have had limited success controlling violence in Liberia. Last May, peacekeepers had looters lie on their backs repeating, "I will not loot again."

to come.

Rather than relying on the outside world to swoop in and separate combatants of shield civilians from tragedy, the Clinton Administration wants to assemble a 10,000-member all-African crisis response force that can be drawn together and deployed on short notice. Already, Congress has earmarked more than \$20 million for the effort, and has had some success in enlisting the support of other Western countries. Half a dozen African nations have said they would consider contributing troops.

The beauty of the plan, for Washington, is that it allows the world to respond to African crises without putting the lives of American soldiers on the line — and at low cost, given the wages of African armies and the availability of surplus military equipment.

"We have been mightily motivated by events in Burundi," said one senior United States official traveling with Mr. Christopher. "The thinking was that there had to be some option between direct military intervention and doing nothing at all."

But many Africans and American specialists in the continent's affairs fear that this approach risks repeating grave mistakes of past African peacekeeping efforts, or

setting up political booby traps for the future.

For one, deploying modest-sized all-African forces financed and equipped by outsiders has been tried — most notably in Liberia. If the idea cannot be said to have totally failed, the experience has at best been deeply flawed.

Less Than Success

In Liberia, the 10,000-man West African peacekeeping force has never been able to get a firm grip on the situation. Instead, it has been just enough to keep that country's crisis at a low boil for most of the last six years, with momentary spikes of widespread chaos such as the fighting that devastated the capital, Monrovia, in April. And because outsiders, in particular Western nations, have not been present on the ground, where their lives and reputations would be at stake, international support for the West African troops deployed there has been both tepid and inconsistent.

Beyond its commitment to the start-up costs for the new force, moreover, Washington openly says that it would like to avoid holding the financial bag into the

future. So American diplomats have been seeking official United Nations backing for the effort. Similarly, Mr. Christopher and his aides have been lobbying the Organization for African Unity to endorse the plan.

Here, too, Africa experts foresee little but problems. France, which has remained fully engaged in Africa and enjoys a Security Council veto, is plainly suspicious of the plan; it sees it as a formula for diluting Paris's strong influence on the continent.

What's worse, Africa's four natural powerhouses — Egypt, South Africa, Nigeria and Zaire — are either openly scornful or, in Zaire's case, a potential candidate itself for a stabilizing intervention.

That leaves Washington with a collection of weaker and much smaller states to call upon, and their participation in a United States-led effort would leave some Africans suspicious that the force was merely providing African cover for American missions on the continent.

"Africa would like to feel that they are handling things themselves," the South African President, Nelson Mandela, told reporters on the eve of Mr. Christopher's stop there. "Not acting in response to suggestions that come from outside the continent."

The Alienated Anglos

In Quebec, a Self-Fulfilling Separatism

By ANTHONY DePALMA

AFTER nearly 20 years of being scraped off, painted over and thoroughly blotted out, English words have almost vanished from the elegant streets and grand boulevards of this, the second largest French-speaking city in the world.

But there remains everywhere a sign that is readily understood: A Louer — for rent. All over the city, even in the poshest residential neighborhoods and the most chic shopping streets, mansions, storefronts and office buildings go begging for tenants.

The real estate distress, while probably due in part to the same afflictions that cities everywhere have suffered, is only one of the signs that the bitter battle over language in Quebec province is taking its toll on Montreal's commerce and culture. It is estimated that in the last 20 years more than 300,000 English speakers, most of them Montrealers, have packed up and left, weary of the endless debate over whether Quebec should become a sovereign nation, with its own official language. The number of companies that have fled from corporate giants to small start-ups, is thought to be more than 1,000. That includes the Bank of Montreal, which now keeps its principal corporate offices, and executives, in Toronto.

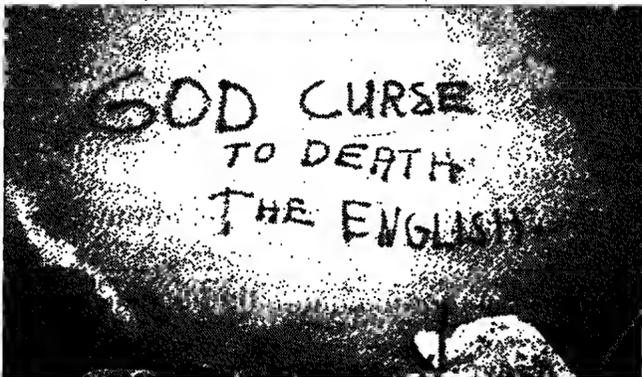
Meanwhile, Montreal has some of the highest levels of unemployment in Canada.

'Just a Metaphor'

Of course, it is not just the restrictions on English on commercial signs that has caused the decline. On the very night the separatist referendum was defeated a year ago, Parti Québécois leaders vowed to hold another referendum and to continue the long struggle for sovereignty.

"Language is just a metaphor," said Robert Lecker, a native Montrealer and professor of English at McGill University here. He believes that what is really at stake is whether in their push for independence, the separatists are depriving not only English speakers but all citizens of democratic rights.

In a paper that raised many hackles last summer, Mr. Lecker wrote that "the ruling provincial party — the Parti Québécois — is endorsing a view of linguistic and ethnic supremacy that is responsible for the ongoing violation of democratic principles and human rights."



On a poster, under the heading "Walls of Shame," opponents of French-speaking separatists have documented some of the graffiti on the streets of Montreal.

The local French-language newspaper labeled Mr. Lecker "a hateronger." Tensions have risen since the 600,000 remaining English speakers in Quebec, along with two million French-speaking federalists, Cree Indians and immigrants, narrowly

English speakers are fighting or fleeing. Either way, the animosity remains.

defeated the separatist referendum. Recent polls show that 57 percent of Quebecers numbed by a generation of conflict don't want to see another referendum in the next decade. Even so, political pressure has been mounting to get tougher on language. A proposal before the provincial government forbids the sale of video games or computer software in English if a French version is available anywhere in the world. And the bill would revive the dreaded "language troopers," who could make surprise inspections of stores and even offices in private homes to

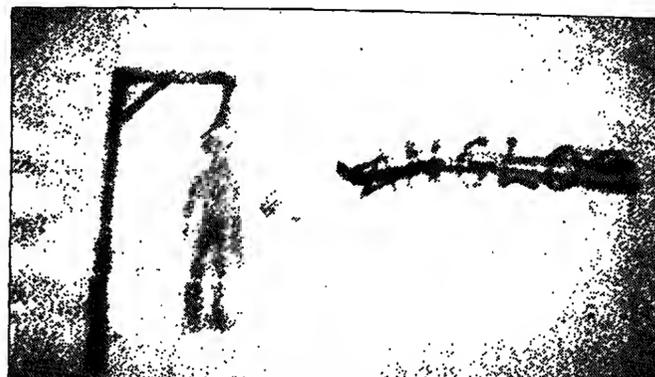
insure that French is being used. At the same time, English speakers, frightened because of the one percent margin by which they won the last vote, have started to fight back. One group sent a delegation to New York last month warning investment bankers about the dangers of separation. The delegation was largely ignored on Wall Street but caused a furor in Montreal.

Another federalist group, to warn outsiders of what is going on here, recently mailed tourist agencies around the world a poster with photos of urban graffiti like "God Curse to Death the English" and a dozen other hate signs sprayed on walls in Montreal.

As divisions here widen, extremists are emboldened. Raymond Villeneuve, who was sentenced to a dozen years in prison in the 1960's for planting bombs in the name of the fight for independence, recently issued an oblique threat on a radio program, saying the struggle "could come to bombs or more simple methods such as Molotov cocktails."

Even in Canada

The hardening of attitudes reminded many that violence, even in a country so pacific that it put a maple leaf on its flag, is not impossible. Memories are all too clear of the chilling days in 1970 when armed Canadian troops patrolled the streets of Montreal in a show of force intended to put down an



anticipated separatist insurrection. For years, the federal Government has said it would not force Quebec to stay in the Canadian federation against its will. But now the Government is challenging Quebec's right to make such a decision on its own. Allan Rock, Canada's Attorney General, last month asked the Supreme Court to decide how much authority the province has.

Speaking to Parliament, Mr. Rock called any unilateral action by Quebec a "formula for chaos" that would "undermine political stability, interrupt the prevailing order and cast into doubt the interests and rights of Quebecers and all Canadians."

Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard has said that in the event of a vote to secede, he would seek international recognition of his new nation. But he knows other countries would take a critical look at the province's record on human rights, which has been a sensitive issue for both sides.

"We can prove that there is no other minority maybe in the world that is treated as well as this minority," said Yves Martin, secretary of the Secretariat of Linguistic Policy in Quebec, referring to English-speaking Quebecers.

But in the case of an English-speaking undertaker who had been ordered to call his business a "salon funéraire," the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva found in 1983 that the language law

violates the freedom of expression provision of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

An advisory commission from the House of Commons in London is looking at the possible violation of rights of the Cree Indians, who have declared that if Quebec separates from Canada, they would separate from Quebec.

And some members of the United States Congress have raised the rights issue in regard to an order last winter removing from supermarket shelves foods from New York that were not labeled "Kosher for Passover," in both English and French. Manufacturers say it isn't profitable to print and use special labels just for that short time.

The Passover-Only Rule

Mr. Martin said an agreement has been reached to allow "Kosher for Passover" labels printed only in English for 40 days before the holidays to 10 days after.

To Montrealers like David Black, a 27-year-old bilingual businessman who has been actively involved in the English counterattack, such responses are no solution at all but an indication of how deeply divided Quebec, and Canada, really is.

"The Arabs and Jews are closer to settling what's going on in Jerusalem," he said, "than we are of settling this here."

كلمة من الأصل

The Nation

Hunting Cash, Candidates Follow the Bright Lights

By LESLIE WAYNE

CIVICS books say that politicians are in a race for votes. But reality paints a different picture: Campaigning is often more a race for dollars and, by that measure, as in the race for votes, some places are more attractive than others.

Three cities — New York, Washington and Los Angeles — are the biggest sources of political donations by individuals to Presidential and Congressional campaigns and to national political parties, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, a nonprofit group that studies campaign finance. More money flowed from individual contributors in New York City than from those in 19 states combined, the center found.

The private research group estimated that about \$800 million would be spent on this year's Presidential race and another \$800 million on Congressional races. That includes contributions from political action committees, Federal matching funds to the candidates and other sources — including individuals. By far the largest source of contributions to all candidates is business, which has raised \$242 million, most of it for Republicans. Organized labor has raised \$35 million, much of it going to Democrats. Looking at contributions from individuals and where those contributors live, the study found that Manhattan's Upper East Side, with zip codes 10021, 10022, 10128 and 10028, is the single biggest treasure chest for Presidential and Congressional candidates. From Missouri, Idaho and beyond, they have been trekking to the salons of Fifth Avenue to finance their campaigns back home.

"Not all cities are created equal, and certain parts of the country express themselves more loudly politically than others," said Larry Makinson, deputy director of the center. "No matter who you are or where you are running from, you will be visiting Washington, New York and Los Angeles

Where the Motorcades Roam

The top sources of individual contributions of \$200 or more to all campaigns in the period from Jan. 1, 1995 to last month. Figures in millions.

Metropolitan Area	Total	Dems.	Reps.	Zip Code	Location	Total	Dems.	Reps.
New York	\$39.8	\$22.1	\$17.3	10021	Manhattan, Upper East Side, 61st to 80th Streets	\$6.2	\$3.3	\$2.9
Washington	\$28.2	\$14.1	\$13.8	10022	Manhattan, East Side, 50th to 60th Streets	\$4.1	\$2.5	\$1.6
Los Angeles	\$19.6	\$10.5	\$8.5	10017	Manhattan, East Side, 41st to 49th Streets	\$2.1	\$1.5	\$0.7
Boston	\$14.0	\$8.1	\$5.8	90210	Beverly Hills, Calif.	\$1.9	\$1.3	\$0.6
Chicago	\$12.1	\$5.9	\$6.0	20008	Washington, upper Northwest section	\$1.8	\$1.1	\$0.7
Detroit	\$9.6	\$3.4	\$6.0	20007	Washington, Georgetown	\$1.7	\$1.0	\$0.7
Philadelphia	\$9.3	\$3.6	\$5.7	90067	Los Angeles, Century City	\$1.6	\$1.1	\$0.6
Houston	\$9.3	\$3.2	\$6.0	10019	Manhattan, West Side, 49th to 59th Streets	\$1.6	\$1.0	\$0.6
San Francisco	\$8.7	\$3.8	\$4.8	33480	Palm Beach, Fla.	\$1.5	\$0.5	\$1.0
Atlanta	\$8.3	\$2.2	\$6.0	10128	Manhattan, Upper East Side, 87th to 96th Streets	\$1.5	\$0.9	\$0.6
Dallas	\$8.1	\$2.0	\$6.0	10028	Manhattan, Upper East Side, 81st to 86th Streets	\$1.5	\$0.9	\$0.6
Newark, N.J.	\$6.8	\$3.2	\$3.6	37205	Nashville	\$1.4	\$0.3	\$1.1
Nashville	\$6.0	\$1.0	\$4.9	06830	Greenwich, Conn.	\$1.4	\$0.6	\$0.8
Nassau-Suffolk Counties, N.Y.	\$5.9	\$1.9	\$3.9	20036	Washington, Dupont Circle	\$1.3	\$0.7	\$0.6
Miami	\$5.4	\$3.3	\$2.1	37215	Nashville	\$1.2	\$0.1	\$1.1
Bridgeport-Fairfield, Conn.	\$5.4	\$2.0	\$3.3	60611	Chicago, Lake Shore Drive area	\$1.2	\$0.6	\$0.6
West Palm Beach, Fla.	\$5.0	\$2.1	\$2.9	22101	McLean, Va.	\$1.2	\$0.4	\$0.8
Bergen County, N.J.	\$5.0	\$2.8	\$2.1	20016	Washington, upper Northwest section	\$1.2	\$0.6	\$0.6
Minneapolis	\$4.9	\$1.9	\$2.9	20854	Potomac, Md.	\$1.1	\$0.5	\$0.6
St. Louis	\$4.7	\$1.5	\$2.6	77002	Houston, central	\$1.1	\$0.5	\$0.7

Source: Center for Responsive Politics

The New York Times

with an open hand. For some candidates, they will rely on these areas more than on their own home district.

These golden zones of affluence and clout include Beverly Hills' famed 90210, as well as the Georgetown homes of Washington power brokers and Chicago's Lake Shore Drive. Nashville vaulted onto the list be-

cause of huge home-town donations to the failed Presidential bid of Lamar Alexander.

New York and Los Angeles give more to Democrats than to Republicans. Beverly Hills is one of President Clinton's biggest source of funds; over all, individuals in the Los Angeles area have doated \$10.5 million for the Democrats and \$8.5 million to the

Republicans. Hollywood's movie moguls have long been staunch Democrats. And Manhattan also favored Democrats, giving them \$22.1 million compared to \$17.3 million for Republicans. Washington, a city attuned to keeping both sides happy, is split: \$14.1 million to Democrats and \$13.8 million to Republicans.

To Mr. Makinson, these geographically lopsided donations create a two-tiered political system, the voters and the donors. "In politics there's a first class section and a second class section," said Mr. Makinson. "People in first class get the perks. They get treated well and there is no question they will be extremely well represented."

Photo Finish

Mr. Gore Goes to Washington, Too

THE annual dinner named for the original "happy warrior," Gov. Alfred E. Smith, is a traditional home for the jocular tension of a Presidential campaign. Any controversy is usually generated by the presence of rival candidates on the dais, not by their absence.

This year, the board of the Alfred E. Smith Foundation, whose president is John Cardinal O'Connor of the Archdiocese of New York, decided not to invite Bill Clinton and Bob Dole in an apparent snub over the President's position on abortion. Their running mates, though, lived up to the dinner's tradition.

Vice President Al Gore ventured into uncharted technological territory by narrating a slide-show history of the Vice Presidency, including computer-doctored photographs showing him popping up Zelig-like at momentous historical events (excerpts accompany this article). Jack Kemp engaged in self-deprecating humor that sounded a bit familiar to longtime attendees of the dinner, which benefits medical institutions.

"People say my speeches are too long," he said. "I don't know, I enjoy every minute of them. They say I'm arrogant, but I know better. They say I talk too much, but how else are people going to learn?" Mr. Kemp, who had caught flak from within his own party for going easy on Mr. Gore, made it clear there are drawbacks to a pulled punch. "Al Gore resorted to the lowest, dirtiest, most unconscionable trick in the political book," Mr. Kemp said. "He called me a nice guy. Can you believe that?"

DAVID FIRESTONE



"As Jack can tell you, the secret to being a good running mate is having a strong relationship with the guy running for President. President Clinton and I have had a very

harmonious relationship. Most of you think our relationship dates back to 1992. But our political partnership goes back much further — longer than some of you may know."



"I was put in charge of President Clinton's White House Task Force on the Olympic Games. Incidentally, Jack, I begged her not to try that dismount. I said, 'Kerri, that's a risky vaulting scheme that will tear your Achilles tendon.'"



"I have been asked from time to time to take on special projects where I anonymously do the best I can. Here's an example. I've been asked to come back for the World Series to do something more fitting for my personality — to serve as the honorary foul pole."

The Script Is Still Being Written

Continued From Page 1

do to contain the growth of Medicare and other benefit programs? Would he adhere to the liberal bent of Hillary Rodham Clinton or the pragmatic touch of aides like Bruce Reed, a veteran from the centrist Democratic Leadership Council who has been assigned to come up with an agenda for a second term?

Leon E. Panetta, the President's chief of staff, argued that Mr. Clinton had laid out a vision for a second term. "What you see is what you're going to get," he said. "He's always been a centrist, and he'll be a centrist in the next four years." Mr. Panetta listed three foundations for a second term: balancing the budget; increasing emphasis on education, and creating new jobs to keep people off welfare. But Mr. Clinton has not said very much about how he would achieve those goals.

A New Cast

Ultimately, this may not be Mr. Panetta's worry; he and a host of other senior aides are widely expected to depart the White House even if Mr. Clinton is re-elected. Among those who would stay — and among prominent Democrats — there is a lively guessing game over what Mr. Clinton would like as his legacy.

Already, the Democratic Leadership Council, which Mr. Clinton led before launching his campaign in 1992, has pronounced itself as having won the struggle over his political soul; it has begun compiling a list of talent among "new Democrats" who could stock a second Clinton White House. At the same time, a coalition of unions and civil rights groups and liberals, calling itself the Campaign for America's Future, is counting on Mr. Clinton to creep back to the left — a hint spot when he vowed to smooth out the harshest elements in the new welfare law.

In the second and final Presidential debate, Bob Dole brought up the vision question when he accused President Clinton of scaring elderly voters into thinking Republicans would tamper with Medicare and Social Security. "If you don't have any ideas," Mr. Dole said, "if you don't have any agenda and all you have is fear, that's all you can use."

Indeed, it is probably easier to discern the White House agenda of the challenger than the agenda of the man who currently holds the office: Mr. Dole would likely push his centerpiece proposal for an across-the-board 15 percent tax cut, work for more military spending and, under a Republican Congress, press for a ban on late-term abortions.

But one reason Mr. Clinton seems to be getting away without enunciating any sweeping proposals is that many voters no longer trust what politicians promise them anyway. The candidates' pledges to cut taxes

est New York Times/CBS News Poll found that 44 percent of likely voters said they believed their taxes would increase if Mr. Clinton were re-elected; 40 percent said taxes would rise if Mr. Dole were elected.

Probably the most convincing explanation for Mr. Clinton's vagueness about a second term is the uncertainty over who will control Congress.

Fiscal Realities

For that reason, perhaps Mr. Clinton's failure to lay out more specifics simply reflects a pragmatism that would leave room for him to work with whoever runs Congress. Mr. Clinton's reticence may also reflect fiscal realities: voters no longer have patience with a candidate who proposes grandiose and costly initiatives, like Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society in 1964.

Despite his ample lead in the opinion polls, maybe Mr. Clinton's instinct is also to avoid specifics that might jeopardize any constituency. After all, Walter F. Mondale hardly helped himself in 1984 when he said he would raise taxes. But Mr. Clinton's lack of a program is all the more obvious because there is no great issue dominating the political discourse. When Richard M. Nixon ran for re-election in 1972, for instance, Vietnam — and his promise to leave it — was front and center.

Yet there are risks for a President who is re-elected without seeming to have a purpose. In 1992, George Bush did not even make it that far, partly because he was perceived as lacking what he called "the vision thing." For those who do win re-election, political ballast is all the more important, given the history of Presidents floundering in their second terms.

Two Turns

The latest confusion over Mr. Clinton's ideological stripes relates to his dealings with homosexuals. Earlier this month, he sought to telegraph his distaste for the Defense of Marriage Act, which precludes Federal benefits for same-sex marriages, by signing it late at night.

But then he tried to capitalize on his signing of the bill with a radio commercial in which the announcer boasts that the President had "defended our values" by supporting the act and taking other steps to fight "for our values." Another turn came last week when the Clinton campaign, yielding to an outcry from gay groups, yanked the commercial.

Paul Begala, a top strategist for Mr. Clinton in the 1992 campaign, argues that it is misguided to portray the President as trying to have it both ways. "I don't believe there's a war for Bill Clinton's soul — that's silly," Mr. Begala said. "Clinton is not a leader who is locked in ideology."

Of course, Bill Clinton, if finally unleashed from campaigning, might

Ideas & Trends

What a Deal! But Somebody Pays.

By DAVID CAY JOHNSTON

LOOKING for a loan? How do these terms sound? No application forms to complete and no credit checks. Approval is automatic. You can borrow as much money as you want, up to 40 percent of your pay, for as long as you want, at no interest.

Sound too good to be true? The Federal Government is making interest-free loans available under precisely those terms to people who want to squirrel away big sums for retirement while deferring income taxes for years or even decades.

There is, as you might expect, a catch. These loans are available only to what a 1974 law describes as "a select group of management or highly compensated employees." The law is Erisa, the Employee Retirement Income Security Act, under which the Government regulates pensions and 401(k)-style retirement savings plans.

Limits for Some

Under Erisa, the Government makes interest-free "loans" available to anyone who defers pay until retirement. The loan principal consists of the taxes that would be due on income that individuals set aside until retirement. Because these loans delay the collection of tax revenues, the Government places strict limits on pensions and on the amounts

people can save for retirement in the programs it regulates. You may save only \$2,000 in your Individual Retirement Account, \$9,500 in your 401(k) and, if you own your own business, \$30,000 in a Keough retirement savings plan.

But Erisa also contains an exemption for people willing and able to forgo Government protections. These people can save all the money they want for retirement, leaving it for their employers to invest, without paying current taxes on it. They must pay taxes when they finally collect the money, of course, but at that point their tax bracket may be lower.

During a six-month investigation, The New York Times found that the definition of who is in this select group has been stretched and stretched. At International Business Machines, where a quarter century ago two executives had such loans, the company opened the opportunity to about 1,350 people last year and more than 1,000 signed up. Walgreen's, the drugstore chain, has let store managers making \$55,000 a year participate.

In examining records of more than 300 corporations and conducting interviews with consultants, tax lawyers and small-business owners, The Times found that the volume of these loans has been exploding, especially since Congress and President Clinton raised tax rates for high-income people and cut back on pensions in 1993. Just how many billions of dollars has been loaned out is not

known, however, because no one in Washington keeps track.

For those at the very top, the loans can run into millions. In the last two years Alex Trotman, the chief executive of the Ford Motor Company, put away \$5.4 million, although how much he eventually gets will depend on the price of Ford stock. His Government loan equals the \$2.1 million in taxes that he deferred.

Michael Jordan, the chief executive of Westinghouse, saved \$1.8 million in the last

attention to these executives' loans? Because their costs are paid not by the Treasury but by shareholders of the companies that pay taxes on the money they keep for executives and managers.

"In deferred compensation arrangements the employer is giving a subsidy to the employee," said Yale Tauber, the senior executive compensation expert at William M. Mercer, the nation's largest benefits consulting firm.

These subsidies can be substantial. The General Electric Corporation, which borrows money for 4.8 percent in the market, is paying 14 percent to John H. Welch Jr., its chief executive, on \$1 million he deferred for five years. And it gave him a \$35,000 sweetener payment, too. Coca-Cola has paid executives as much as 19.85 percent interest on their deferrals.

The subsidies should interest investors, and especially people with 401(k) accounts, because 42 percent of 401(k) investments are in stock of the employer's company.

But shareholders know little about these subsidies: the Securities and Exchange Commission requires companies to disclose their top executives' compensation, but they need not say how much of it has been deferred, or precisely what interest rate is paid.

The Government's interest-free 'loans' to executives sound too good to be true.

two years, obtaining a \$712,000 interest-free loan under even better terms. When he returns, Mr. Jordan will collect the money he saved plus about 7 percent interest — or, if its value has risen more, Westinghouse stock.

Since deferring the payment of taxes costs the Government money, and since there is no free lunch, why does the Government pay no

'Soccer Moms'

What's in a Name?

Here is a demographic profile of "soccer moms," if they are defined as suburban women between the ages of 32 and 50 who have children under 18 and work at least part-time. The numbers are drawn from women in suburbs of the nation's 10 largest metropolitan areas.

- ✓ 6 in 10 are younger than 40.
- ✓ 8 in 10 are white
- ✓ 8 in 10 are married.
- ✓ 1 in 6 is divorced or separated
- ✓ Nearly 2 in 3 have attended college.
- ✓ 2 in 10 work for government
- ✓ More than 5 in 10 make less than \$20,000 themselves, but nearly 6 in 10 have a household income of more than \$50,000



Source: From Andrew A. Beveridge, Department of Sociology, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

The New York Times

Continued From Page 1

number of all players under age 19 at only about 2.5 million. In a state with a heavy suburban vote like New Jersey, there are roughly 145,000 such players. New York has about 131,000 and Connecticut 63,000.

A suburb with an active program like Montclair, N.J., — population 38,000 — boasts some 1,800 kids playing soccer. It takes 250 parent volunteers to keep the program running, but only about 10 percent of them are women. The New Jersey Youth Soccer Association said the pattern was similar throughout the state.

"Who is participating when you talk about making it happen on the field? It is predominantly men," said Stanford L. Brown, 44, a Montclair coach. "Soccer dads are more likely to take on the mantle of being the coach, even if they haven't played."

His wife, Lill, one of the town's 15 women coaches, agrees. "I am always pleading with women to take on coaching and to be involved, but I have only met with limited success," said Mrs. Brown. "Women say, 'No, no, no, I want my husband to do it so he interacts with his daughter.'"

Soccer moms also bristle at the term because they find it vaguely insulting. "I hate to be a whole breed of something, but I admit I have a talented soccer player, so as long as it is Dr. Soccer Mom, because I have a Ph.D., I accept," said Ann-Marie Nazzaro, the director of the town's YWCA.

Despite such reservations, pollsters and demographers find the term useful as a catch-all for suburban women, most married and working at least part-time outside the home, with children under 18 — even if it distorts the role mothers perform in their children's athletic lives. They find it enough for mothers to drive their kids to the field.

Sneakers, Not Heels

"Soccer moms of the 1990's were the 'supermoms' of the 1980's," said Kellyanne Fitzpatrick, president of the Polling Company, a Republican firm. "Many of them have kicked off their high heels and replaced them with Keds to watch their kids. If you are a soccer mom, the world according to you is seen through the needs of your children."

Since soccer moms only recently appeared on political radar screens, there aren't a lot of polling data to work with. But there has been a big change in the voting inclinations of white women.

In a New York Times/CBS Poll of September 1992, 48 percent of married white suburban women preferred President Bush and 27 percent favored Mr. Clinton. This September, 49 percent prefer Mr. Clinton and only 39 percent favor Mr. Dole, a shift of 22 percentage points in Mr. Clinton's favor. Now as then, white married men in general lean toward the G.O.P.

"What makes the soccer moms so key this time is that they are young Republican for Congress and Democratic for President," said Celinda Lake, the president of Lake Research, a Democratic polling firm.

Some experts on gender politics, however, believe that the state of a woman's marriage exerts stronger influence over her voting pattern than how she spends time with her children. "Soccer mom is a bad label," said Warren T. Farrell, author of "The Myth of Male Power." "A better label would be the Potentially Rejected Moms or the 'First Wives' Moms. When she begins to fear the end of her marriage or it does end, she begins to look to the government to become a substitute husband. The Democrats play the role of the government as substitute husband better than the Republicans."

As the election nears, the soccer mom may have to cede her pedestal as key swing voter. That category excludes too many undecided women, while the soccer mom probably has made up her mind by now.

"There are more than twice as many Waitress Moms as Soccer Moms," said Ms. Lake, referring to blue-collar working women without college educations supporting children. "Right now they are voting Democratic, but many of them are undecided. If you want to know the truth, it is now the Waitress Moms who are critical."

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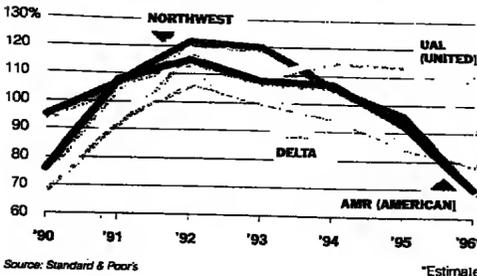
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ECONOMY

U.S. Airlines Have Finally Reached Cruising Speed

Airlines Are Paying Down Debt ...

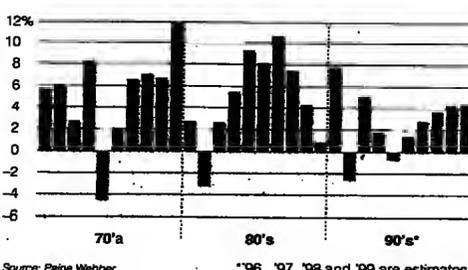
Value of debt and leases as a percentage of revenues.



Source: Standard & Poor's

... To Stop Boom-and-Bust Years ...

Annual percentage change in airline capacity.

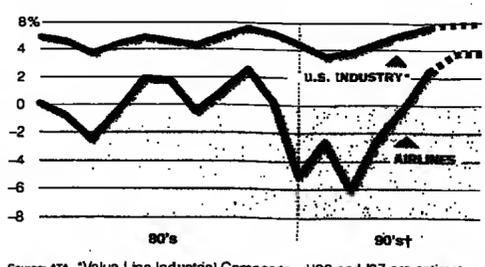


Source: Paine Webber

*'96, '97, '98 and '99 are estimates.

... And Improve Profits

Net profits as a percentage of revenues.



Source: ATA "Value Line Industrial Composite." *'96 and '97 are estimates.

By ADAM BRYANT

UNTIL recently, the airline industry induced vertigo as few other cyclical businesses could.

While other consumer industries went through good times and bad, airlines mostly gyrated between bad and awful. In just the first five years of the 1990's, they lost \$13 billion, more than all the profits accumulated since the Wright Brothers made their historic flight at Kitty Hawk in 1903.

The explanation can be summarized in one word: overexpansion. From the 1950's on, airlines repeatedly responded to rapid traffic growth by ordering fleets of new aircraft. Like steroids, the planes were intended to make them bigger and stronger. But also like steroids, they weakened the airlines' long-term health; by the time the aircraft were delivered, traffic growth had typically trailed off, leaving too many planes chasing too few passengers.

The industry didn't seem able to learn from its mistakes, in part because it was dominated by such big egos. Perhaps no executive embodied the free-wheeling style of the 1980's like Frank Lorenzo. After starting with the small Texas International Airlines, he swallowed Continental, Eastern, People Express and Frontier, at one point presiding over the world's largest airline company. But even after his empire ran into trouble, with Eastern in bankruptcy, Mr. Lorenzo plowed ahead with a \$2.8 billion order for 100 planes.

Now, however, the big airlines seem to be mending their ways. Stung by their recent disasters run and taken over in many cases by a new crop of chief executives more in tune with the sober-minded 1990's, they are turning the old strategy practically on its head. By slashing the huge debt burdens and reining in the urge to expand, these executives are trying to smooth out the wild swings of the industry's boom-and-bust cycles.

"It's not a testosterone-driven in-

dustry any longer," said Gordon Bethune, chairman of Continental Airlines. "Success is making money, not in the size of the airline."

And the airlines are making some money. Analysts are projecting a profit margin for the entire industry of about 4 percent for 1996 — paltry by the standards of most consumer businesses, perhaps, but the industry's best performance since it registered a record 5.2 percent margin in 1978. And in a sign of success in controlling their capacity, airlines are expected to fill an average of 70 percent of their seats this year, the fullest their planes have been since World War II.

All this, of course, does not necessarily mean that investors should rush out and load up on airline stocks. The industry is volatile, after all, and has defied predictability time and again. Airline stocks have also historically underperformed the broad market averages. And even as the industry returns to profitability, most airline stocks are slumping, depressed by a surge in the cost of jet fuel and disappointment that the growth in earnings is leveling off.

Some investors may also wonder whether the new-found humility of airline executives will last, and whether the mistakes of the past will be repeated. More seats are being added, although far more slowly than during previous periods when the economy was healthy.

"The discipline is there," said Samuel C. Buttrick, an airline industry analyst at Paine Webber. "But it's being tested."

For now, though, the changes in the industry are real, and Mr. Bethune of Continental says they are likely to endure. "If five guys ahead of you burned their finger in the candle, why would you put your finger in there?" he asked.

In a broad sense, the airlines have lagged behind many other industries that years ago set out to reinvent themselves — autos and steel to cope with foreign competitors, telephone companies to deal with deregulation, or banks to overcome their lending excesses. But the airlines have learned more slowly, in part because they staked so much on a strategy

that seemed to make sense at the time.

In years past, the nation's skies were viewed as a battleground, and bigger airlines operated on the premise that it was possible to drive their weaker rivals out of business and dominate the industry. Investors, buying into the theory, applauded aggressive moves to build up arsenals of new aircraft.

In 1989, after Robert L. Crandall, chairman of the AMR Corporation, the parent of American Airlines, placed a huge \$7 billion order for new aircraft, AMR's stock price jumped sharply. Mr. Crandall also won flattering press coverage for this and other moves, with headlines like, "American Takes On The World" on the cover of Fortune in 1990.

Many others followed his lead, but met with the same mixed results as Mr. Crandall, whose payoff for spending \$20 billion to expand in the 1980's was a modest gain in domestic market share and underwhelming profits.

Today, however, airlines have realized that the best offense is a good defense. Airline executives, trying to shake off comparisons to lemmings and kamikaze pilots, have also surprised many industry analysts with their commitment to repairing their battered balance sheets by paying down billions of dollars of debt rather than buying new aircraft to expand their route networks.

Since the end of 1994, for example, AMR has slashed its debt by \$3.5 billion; Northwest Airlines by \$1.9 billion; and Delta by about \$1.4 billion.

"It's fairly impressive how consistent they've been on that goal," said Philip Baggaley, an airline industry analyst at Standard & Poor's, the credit-rating agency. "Five or 10 years ago, that wasn't on their radar screen of what's important."

As a result, projections for aircraft deliveries over the next several years are sharply lower than in the early 1990's. The Air Transport Association, the industry's trade group, said that at the end of 1990, United States airlines had orders or options to buy 2,748 aircraft. At the end of

June 1996, that figure stood at 1,111. And American Airlines, the big spender of the 1980's, currently has no orders or options.

Although some airlines like United and Continental have placed orders since June, they are stressing that those planes are to replace older models and those that do not meet tougher Federal noise standards that go into effect in 2000.

In another manifestation of their new-found conservatism, many airlines have retreated to their so-called fortress hubs, where they can dominate the local market. By controlling most flights in and out of a big city, they can charge a premium for fares and fight any incursions from competitors by flooding congested routes with frequent flights.

Several years ago, Northwest decided to drop National Airport outside Washington as one of its hubs after the airline determined that it was losing \$25 million a year there. It shifted some of those resources to strengthen its hubs in Detroit, where its share of the local traffic has risen to more than 78 percent, and in Minneapolis, where its market share has grown to more than 84 percent. American dropped Raleigh-Durham, N.C.; San Jose, Calif.; and Nashville in recent years from its network of hub airports, but built up service in Miami and Dallas-Fort Worth.

And Continental decided it could no longer compete with United for the Denver market and pulled out after prolonged losses that reached millions of dollars a month. Continental also killed its Continental Lite operation in 1995 after the experiment to introduce no-frills service to a number of Eastern cities racked up losses of more than \$300 million.

As airlines have pulled back from their secondary hubs, they have turned increasingly to other airlines for marketing alliances as a way to expand their route networks, rather than trying to do it all themselves. Just this week, Continental and Delta announced that they would form such a partnership with Air France. American has also proposed a close collaboration with British Airways.

To bear airline executives tell it, traditional thinking about airline

strategy is going the way of full meals in coach class.

"In our daily, weekly and monthly meetings, we don't talk about market share," said Gerald Greenwald, chairman of United Airlines' parent, the UAL Corporation, and one of several top executives who joined the airlines in recent years from other industries. "We first want to be sure that we are not losing money on the routes we fly, and only after meeting that test will we look at possibly buying planes."

And John H. Dasburg, chief executive of Northwest Airlines, who joined the airline in 1990 after working for a decade at the Marriott Corporation, said that if Northwest ended up with excess cash, "it would be returned to the shareholders rather than used to fund unprofitable growth."

Investors, too, have helped drive home the message that tight capacity and a stable industry are laudable goals. When United and American said a year ago that they were each in talks about possibly acquiring USAir, both their stocks sagged. While overall industry capacity might have remained the same, many industry analysts said that such an acquisition would have hurt their credit ratings and balance sheets.

And when United Airlines ordered more than \$3 billion of new aircraft in August, the stock of its parent dropped on the news, even though United stressed at every opportunity that it intended to use the new aircraft to replace old planes, not to add new routes.

It isn't just the industry's new approach that is driving up profits, of course. The economy has pumped up demand for air travel. In addition, the Federal Government let the 10 percent excise tax on fares lapse for almost eight months this year, enabling the airlines to cut prices, thereby increasing demand and revenue.

The airlines have also cut costs. They ended their flat 10 percent commissions to travel agents, capping the payments at \$50 for round-trip domestic tickets. (The industry recently paid \$87 million to settle a lawsuit brought by travel agents, but managed to keep the ceiling.) Airlines are also heavily marketing electronic ticketing, which gives travelers a confirmation number rather than a ticket and saves processing costs.

Moreover, all big airlines now have computer software to help them maximize revenues. On each flight, there are typically a dozen categories of fares, including those for leisure and business travelers, as well as frequent fliers, and software has been available for years to help airlines analyze historical travel patterns on individual routes and determine how many seats to sell at each fare level. In recent years, Trans World Airlines, USAir, Continental and America West installed such software, thereby leveling the playing field with American and other airlines that already had the technology.

T.W.A. said it bought such a system last December so it could analyze better the 3.6 million fares it sets for its 300,000 flights a year. During the winter months from February to April, the airline said, the software helped to raise revenues by more than \$1.5 million on just one route between its St. Louis hub and a warmer destination.

"The technology lets you squeeze a little more juice from the orange," said Marilyn Hoppe, senior vice president of marketing for T.W.A. Passengers are getting squeezed

in the process, and in more ways than one. American Express, for example, said the price of the average domestic one-way ticket sold by its travel agents rose 27 percent — from \$216 to \$274 — from December 1994 to last month.

And as any frequent flier knows, more planes have been packed. "It's sardined in there," says Douglas T. Pearce, a businessman in Raleigh, N.C. Mr. Pearce says his last 20 flights were all more than 90 percent full. To cope with the crowding, he has learned to always lean in from aisle seats to avoid getting hit with all the large bags travelers lug on board.

Low fares have not disappeared, however. Southwest Airlines continues to expand, sharply reducing fares in popular travel markets like Florida. Airlines like American, Northwest, Continental and USAir are also routinely offering deep discounts through the Internet for weekend travel. Traditional fare sales still make regular appearances.

But some of the lower-cost airlines — whose growth has been cheered in recent years by travelers and the Transportation Department — are having difficulty, in part because the ValuJet crash on May 11 in the Florida Everglades made many travelers wary of flying on them. That was the main reason Nations Air cited for halting scheduled service a few weeks after the crash. And Kiwi International Air Lines suspended service on Tuesday, collapsing under the weight of a number of problems.

Investors in new airlines also appear to have grown skittish. The Transportation Department said that it received seven applications in the first five months of the year to start scheduled jet airlines. Since the ValuJet crash, it has received only one.

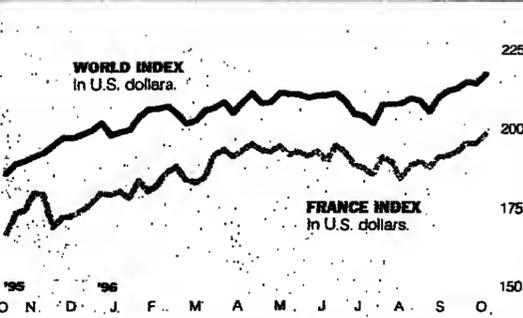
Of course, the woes of smaller competitors can only help the bottom line of the big established carriers. And, given some other recent market trends, it is help they can use. The most disturbing development is the fuel-cost increase of more than \$400 million in the third quarter, from the comparable period last year. That huge expense, combined with other factors including seasonal buying patterns, has depressed airline stocks in recent months. The Standard & Poor's index of airline stocks has fallen 21 percent since late May, for example, while the S. & P. 500 index has gone up about 5 percent.

Politicians also regularly single out the industry for additional taxes. When President Clinton proposed tax credits for college aid in June, for example, he said one way to help finance the program would be to raise the international airline departure tax by \$10, to \$16 a passenger. And security improvements at airports after the crash of T.W.A. Flight 800 in July have added to the industry's costs.

The industry remains vulnerable to disruptive consolidations. USAir may be searching for a buyer again, possibly setting off a round of consolidation, which history suggests would create more problems than it would solve.

Also, as airlines grow more profitable, unions typically want to be rewarded. Unions at United and Northwest that own large blocks of company stock are now negotiating for raises. "We definitely think we deserve a piece of the pie," said Paul Omodt, a spokesman for the division of the Air Line Pilots Association that represents Northwest pilots. "And we think Northwest can afford to pay us more."

WORLD STOCK MARKETS



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Compustat World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1996 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

CURRENCIES

Exchange rates	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	112.47	111.60	+0.77	100.35
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.5422	1.5307	+0.75	1.3976
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.3485	1.3514	-0.21	1.3560
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.5885	1.5750	+0.85	1.5726

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS

Country	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Dividend Yield	Index	YTD % Chg.
Australia	213.74	1.2	14	12.5	15	178.73	5.2
Austria	180.88	0.4	22	3.6	21	144.99	11.7
Belgium	217.16	0.5	21	3.8	20	170.27	12.2
Brazil	188.10	1.6	7	36.4	1	354.78	43.8
Britain	259.37	1.5	9	12.5	14	3.90	241.68
Canada	177.21	0.9	17	19.4	8	2.06	173.12
Denmark	333.19	0.7	20	15.4	10	1.72	287.80
Finland	220.65	3.0	3	17.9	8	2.34	213.61
France	201.14	1.4	10	12.1	17	2.96	164.48
Germany	180.25	0.8	18	10.1	18	1.71	144.60
Hong Kong	469.39	1.6	8	21.1	3	3.28	465.96
Indonesia	203.91	-0.1	25	27	1.73	290.65	
Ireland	308.33	1.2	15	20.7	4	3.31	271.40
Italy	77.63	0.8	19	5.3	19	2.31	89.04
Japan	145.08	1.9	5	-6.4	23	0.74	103.24
Malaysia	582.81	2.4	4	20.1	5	1.17	562.84
Mexico	1,233.35	-2.1	28	19.1	7	1.32	10,411.58
Netherlands	311.00	0.9	18	14.0	12	3.00	245.72
New Zealand	92.97	7.0	1	16.7	9	3.92	69.90
Norway	263.20	-0.0	24	13.8	13	2.18	233.26
Philippines	196.37	5.9	2	28	0.63	257.08	
Singapore	377.53	0.0	23	-7.3	24	1.13	246.16
South Africa	348.78	-1.6	27	-10.0	25	2.22	345.16
Spain	185.44	1.8	6	12.3	16	3.22	182.29
Sweden	396.56	1.4	11	27.1	2	2.20	389.63
Switzerland	244.55	-1.3	26	3.8	22	1.53	192.99
Thailand	118.04	1.3	13	-29.9	26	2.94	116.79
United States	289.37	1.4	12	15.2	11	2.08	289.37

COMPOSITE INDICES

Europa	223.82	1.0	11.4	2.94	195.21	14.9
Pacific Basin	160.62	1.9	-2.8	1.21	115.59	3.8
Europe/Pacific	186.83	1.4	3.8	2.07	145.61	9.0
World	220.11	1.4	8.8	2.06	190.50	12.0

Oct. 14-18: Dow Breaks 6,000 and Bonds Rebound as Inflationary Pressure Seems Quelled

Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs, IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

PRICES

DOMESTIC EQUITIES	
Broad market S. & P. 500 index	Up 1.45% 710.82
Blue chips Dow 30 industrials	Up 2.09% 6,094.23
Small capitalization Russell 2000 index	Down 0.01% 347.85

DOMESTIC BONDS

Treasuries Ryan Labs. Total Return	Up 0.41% 191.63
Municipals Bond Buyer index	Unchanged 116.22
Corporates Merrill Lynch Master index	Up 0.55% 831.20

AROUND THE WORLD

European stocks F.T.-Actuaris Europe	Up 0.99% 223.82
Asian stocks F.T.-Actuaris Pacific Basin	Up 1.90% 160.62
Gold New York cash price	Down 0.34% \$382.10

YIELDS

Long bonds	6.79%
30-year Treasuries	Down 5 basis pts.
Notes 2-year Treasuries	Down 5 basis pts.
Municipals Bond Buyer index	Down 1 basis pt.

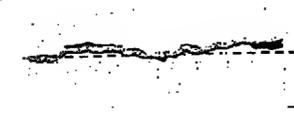
OTHER INVESTMENTS

Money market funds	4.82%
Taxable average	Up 1 basis pt.
Bank C.D.'s 1-year small savers	Down 1 basis pt.
Stocks S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Down 4 b.p.

90-DAY RELATIVE TREND



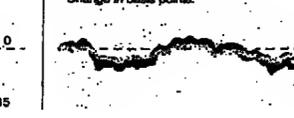
90-DAY RELATIVE TREND



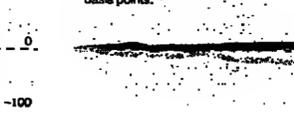
90-DAY RELATIVE TREND



90-DAY RELATIVE TREND



90-DAY RELATIVE TREND



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The Secret Attack on Have-Nots

As Congress directly assaulted welfare programs, it also indirectly launched a piecemeal attack on the intricate set of subsidies built into health, retirement and education programs through which Americans who are financially well off take some responsibility for helping their less fortunate neighbors. In each of these spheres, Americans have typically operated in common pools, with some players paying more so that other, poorer players can pay less.

Republican leaders would allow Americans to purchase on their own. Sometimes, breaking the ties of cross-subsidies makes sense because they have become wasteful or unnecessary. In other cases, cross-subsidies must be reshaped as Congress deregulates a market. But what the Republican leaders have in mind is a world in which the Government asks preciously little from people other than to take care of themselves.

Most Americans buy health insurance through their employers in common insurance pools that include healthy and sick people alike. But Congress recently approved an experimental plan in which the Government would provide tax subsidies to people who want to drop out of the common pool and buy coverage on their own. The likely outcome is that only well-off, healthy people will choose these individual medical savings accounts. That would leave the chronically ill to fend for themselves and thereby eviscerate the notion of insurance.

Most Americans also use a common education "pool" — the neighborhood public school system, which uses property taxes on expensive homes to underwrite schooling for those in more modest homes. Bob Dole and his colleagues want to move to a system of vouchers, which would allow people, in many cases those with the higher incomes, to drop out of the pool and take taxpayer money with them to help offset the cost of private-school tuition. The important point is that Congress can inject competition into education without destroying the common pool. It could limit student choice among schools to those within a public system, and focus help on the disadvantaged.

Social Security is a 1930's system that has put

every worker in a common retirement pool. The system taps some of the payroll tax paid into the pool by higher-wage workers to beef up the benefits of lower-income retirees. The system has done an exquisite job of cutting poverty among the elderly. But some in Congress want to break the cross-subsidies, tying retirement benefits much more closely to a worker's payroll contributions. There are ways to put Social Security on a sounder financial basis — for example, by having the Government invest revenues in private capital markets — without ripping the safety net out from under poor retirees.

The breaking apart of common pools of citizenship is also occurring in the private economy. Until recently, and following Congressional policy, companies that provided pensions offered the same plan for rank and file workers and most executives. But, as a Times series last week showed, there is an onerous trend toward dropping pension coverage for all in favor of lucrative tax-subsidized plans for the highest-paid managers.

Cross-subsidies often become the road kill of an otherwise worthwhile push toward deregulation. But even in these cases, Congress is perfectly able to protect the needy. Under current Federal policy, fees for long-distance phone calls are set high to generate money for subsidizing local phone service for poor and rural families. But as Congress moves to deregulate phone service, long-distance prices will be forced down, eliminating the margin that now provides subsidies. In this case, however, Congress explicitly directed Federal regulators to provide the subsidies by some channel compatible with markets. That is all it took to get the best of both — competition and subsidies.

But phone deregulation looks like the exception. Republican leaders in Congress want vouchers that threaten the viability of public schools, medical savings accounts that threaten to undermine affordable coverage for the chronically ill and Social Security schemes that threaten to bury a disproportionate number of the elderly in poverty. These indirect assaults on the needy are every bit as pernicious as the direct assault on welfare.

A Risky New Role for Mexico's Army

Modern Mexico has an admirably strong tradition of civilian control over the military. Mexican generals, unlike those elsewhere in Latin America, neither plot for power nor challenge the orders of the elected Government.

But the multiple challenges that have shaken Mexico's political system in recent years have drawn the army deeply into civilian life. Troops have been called on to suppress guerrilla uprisings, the air force has been enlisted in the fight against drug cartels and army generals have been assigned to clean up corrupt local police forces. In the past two years, troop strength has been expanded by 15 percent to 180,000 and the military budget has grown by a corresponding amount.

The growing role of the military is disturbing, and it is a threat to President Ernesto Zedillo's efforts to deepen civilian democracy. Mr. Zedillo must take care to limit the military's role to cases of clear necessity, like battling guerrilla armies, and then he must make sure that constitutional rights are respected.

Military counterinsurgency campaigns are notoriously prone to human rights abuses. In Chiapas and other southern states where guerrillas have taken up arms, the military has been credibly accused of torture and summary executions in its hunt for insurgents.

It would be tragic if Mexico were to follow some of its neighbors down the path to roiling brutality and lawlessness. To avoid that possibility, President Ernesto Zedillo should establish clear ground rules for military treatment of civilians. Civilian courts

should have final jurisdiction over cases of abusive military behavior toward citizens. Some accusations may lack merit or misrepresent the circumstances, but exonerations of military conduct will lack credibility if they come only from military courts.

The military's role in combating narcotics is limited and consists mainly of air force interception of drug flights. Washington, unwisely, would like to see this expanded. Previous Mexican administrations have resisted even this degree of military involvement, fearing it would sow corruption in the army just as it has in the federal police, the force officially responsible for drug fighting.

President Zedillo has also placed the army more deeply into day-to-day policing by bringing in a general to replace the civilian in charge of Mexico City's police department. Corrupt and ineffective police forces need reform, but bringing in the army general, who hired other officers to serve in top command positions, has unnecessarily added to the impression of expanding military power.

The peso devaluation crisis and sharp feuding in the ruling party got Mr. Zedillo's presidency off to a weak start. Although he has said that he wants the rule of law and governmental accountability to be the main themes of his administration, he has made himself dependent on unreformed politicians and institutions. To let the military become yet another unaccountable, independent power center would be a calamity for Mexico and would undermine Mr. Zedillo's, and Washington's, hopes for continued political and economic reform.

The Limits of Abortion Protests

The Supreme Court heard arguments last week on the "constructive blockades" used by anti-abortion groups to impede access to reproductive health clinics. These blockades force patients, and staff to run a gauntlet of intimidation and harassment. The Court should continue to endorse restrictions on the use of this tactic while preserving the free-speech rights of abortion opponents.

Responding to several years of boisterous protests at clinics in upstate New York, a Federal judge in Buffalo issued an injunction in 1992 keeping demonstrators 15 feet away from clinic entrances. He also created a moving 15-foot buffer zone around people entering and leaving clinics. Within this so-called "floating bubble," someone seeking to dissuade a woman from having an abortion may approach her, but must withdraw if she indicates a desire to end the encounter.

At the Supreme Court hearing, some justices expressed skepticism about the constitutionality of the judge's order. Yet, given the threatening atmosphere cited by the Buffalo judge, his ruling seems a sound practical remedy that provides needed protection for clinic patients and staff without sacrificing the First Amendment rights of demonstrators.

This is familiar territory for the Court. In a similar case two years ago, the Court upheld a 36-foot buffer zone around an abortion clinic in Florida.

That wise decision, written by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, properly acknowledged the free-speech rights of the demonstrators, but found that the buffer zone "burdens no more speech than necessary to accomplish the governmental interest at stake" of insuring public safety and protecting unimpeded access to the clinic. At the same time, though, the Court struck down as too restrictive a broader, 300-foot zone in which anti-abortion protesters were barred from approaching anyone who had not indicated "a desire to communicate."

In upholding the 15-foot floating area in New York, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals correctly noted that it was "far more solicitous of the demonstrators' interest" than the much wider zone rejected by the Supreme Court in the Florida case. The New York injunction also allows demonstrators to approach patients uninvited and to keep talking until patients walk away or tell them to stop.

Justice Stephen Breyer crystallized the issue for the Court when he noted that being 15 feet from the justices' bench did not prevent the lawyer for the anti-abortion protesters from communicating his message. As the Court has previously recognized, the First Amendment gives protesters a right to be seen and heard. But it is not a license to instill fear and violate individual privacy with aggressive face-to-face badgering.

Downsized Workers Recovered No Ground

To the Editor:

Steven Rattner's "Downsizing the Downsizing Crisis" (Op-Ed, Oct. 16) tries to minimize the effect that job displacement has on millions of Americans in the 1990's. He uses the findings of a Labor Department study to contend that 70 percent of workers displaced from 1993 to 1995 found new jobs by February 1996.

That figure masks the reality underlined by the Labor Department study: Of those 70 percent re-employed, 204,000 found only part-time jobs and 926,000 found jobs paying below their previous earnings. Added to these are the 1.3 million who did not find new jobs at all. Thus, 65 percent — almost two-thirds — of those who lost jobs in the mid-1990's either did not find new jobs, found only part-time jobs or found jobs paying below their previous earnings.

Mr. Rattner's prescription for the economy — in effect, do nothing — is based on an erroneous perception of the plight of millions of American workers. Coupled with the fact that

more than nine-tenths of net new jobs in the 1990's have been in retail trade and health and business services (the two lowest-paying categories of the service sector) and the result that the real average weekly wage is 80 percent of its level in 1972, worker displacement is a far more serious problem than he would have us believe.

WARD MOREHOUSE
DAVID DEMBO
New York, Oct. 16, 1996

The writers are, respectively, president and program coordinator, Council on International and Public Affairs.

Wrong Message

To the Editor:

Patricia Williams (Op-Ed, Oct. 13) writes that "make work, not babies, is the message to those on welfare." But the message has always been don't have the babies unless there are the means and the will to take care of them. And while many with limited means have substituted will

for some means, the point remains that people should not have babies with the expectation that some person or entity will provide.

Ms. Williams's article suggests that we like the poor as long as they work, work, work. But she overlooks the thrust of the new Federal welfare law and resulting state programs to help recipients acquire more economically rewarding work.

Further, if Ms. Williams believes that it must at some stage have occurred to Oseola McCarty, an elderly black woman who "took in wash" for more than 75 years, that she was in a "dead-end job," Ms. Williams must therefore also accept that Ms. McCarty must have made a decision not to fashion a more economically successful life for herself, despite the barriers. If Ms. Williams thereby implies that even the lowest level of work cannot sustain a struggle for upward economic movement, this is the wrong message to send those about whom she is writing.

RAYMOND FLEISHMAN
Bronx, Oct. 13, 1996

Are We Master of Our Microbes, or Not?

To the Editor:

Thanks to the Oct. 15 Science Times full-page treatment on microbes, I've discovered the meaning of life. Life is a petri dish.

If human beings carry more kinds of bacteria than any other living organism — and if the number of individual bacteria in one human mouth can easily exceed the number of people living on earth, as you report in "From Birth, Body Houses Microbe Zoo" — that explains why humans are judged to be the highest life form. They are the most efficient host.

If the number of microbes colonizing the body exceeds the number of cells in the body by tenfold to one-hundredfold, who's using whom? If all of life evolved toward our supposedly perfect form, that may be because it's most hospitable to bacteria.

If you start to think in bacteria-centric terms (and like science fiction), you might wonder if the Supreme Being is the group mind of all microbes, the one thing we share that links us. If all our relationships have to do with spreading bacteria and creating new hosts for them. If we really have free will or are we



Maciek Albrecht

merely pawns of our bacteria. Antibiotics could be considered a form of adolescent rebellion.

Whatever the cosmic implications, we can never again accuse one another of being dull. Tribes of bacteria — no, major forces of evolution — are living and dying within us.

JOAN VOS MACDONALD
Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y., Oct. 16, 1996

Suntans and Dates Don't Justify College Costs

To the Editor:

In "Bargain U." (Op-Ed, Oct. 17), Harold Howe 2d would console students who owe government loans that their tuition is a bargain considering they can live somewhere with "green grass for fun and sun-bathing" and "unlimited opportunities to meet and date potential mates."

Perhaps for those who can afford not to work while attending school, these spare-time activities may compensate for a small percentage of tuition. But for the many, they hardly justify high tuition. The true problem is that many of our nation's brightest cannot afford to attend the schools of their choice. Rather than awarding degrees to the most qualified candidates, universities graduate those who have money to attend.

An educated elite alone cannot provide the country with enough skilled labor to compete in a globalized economy. We need to nurture all bright high school students — not leave them to wither in unskilled jobs.

JORDAN E. EROOS
Austin, Tex., Oct. 17, 1996
The writer is a graduate student at the University of Texas.

To the Editor:

Harold Howe 2d's Oct. 17 Op-Ed article is simplistic bordering on insulting. As a 1992 state university graduate, I have a different view. As far as receiving the "serious attention of faculty," it is difficult to receive attention from a professor in an auditorium with hundreds of stu-

dents. How can Mr. Howe justify the increasing occurrence of undergraduates having close contact with only their teaching assistants?

As for living conditions, Mr. Howe seems out of touch. Students are often packed into tiny rooms with one or more roommates. Many recreational facilities are overcrowded and in need of repair. Students would hardly call them "luxurious." In fact, the only thing luxurious about college is the high salaries and free housing given to presidents, deans and other officials. So pardon me if I do not find college education a bargain.

BRANDON TRISLER
Brooklyn, Oct. 17, 1996

To the Editor:

In addition to the amenities Harold Howe 2d mentions in his Oct. 17 Op-Ed article, at one of the most expensive private universities in the nation students also have the privilege of experiencing half-hour lines at copy machines that are outdated and barely working; too few personal computers; uncooperative administrators and clerical staff; frustrations with the registrar's and bursar's offices, filthy classrooms and bathrooms and overcrowded recreational facilities. All this for a mere \$635 a credit, not including room and board.

A bargain? I think not! Either Mr. Howe was never a university student or he is living in a different educational world. JOSEPH M. MILSTEIN
Forest Hills, Queens, Oct. 17, 1996
The writer is a graduate student at New York University.

Tourism Might Just Destroy New York's Flavor

To the Editor:

With regard to your glowing account of the transformation of 42d Street (Arts pages, Oct. 15) and the rising role of tourism in the New York economy, I would like to register this cautionary point: Are we one more step down the road to blandness?

Although tourism can be financially rewarding for those who run the venues, it can also have a chilling effect on local cultural development. Take a look at London, Paris or Rome, all great tourism meccas by design. These cities, while marketed for their cultural treasures of the past, are culturally anemic, or worse, in the present. Somehow, the marketing of location for mass tourism tends to freeze-dry it, as if it were a moving target that needed to be stopped. Need I mention Florida?

The new emphasis on tourism comes at a sensitive time in our city's evolution. To many, New York has already seen a decade-long shrinking

of its prominence as a cultural innovator. No longer do we set the trends in fashion, music or the fine arts. I can only attribute this to the employment cutbacks that have occurred in many of our most culturally dynamic industries, like network television, fashion and music.

We would do well to emphasize both tourism and rehabilitation of the local forces that helped make this place unique. The day that we all get to ride on a Holden Caulfield Simulator is the day that we are through.

FRANK KALAMAJKA
New York, Oct. 15, 1996

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Unfettered Capitalism

To the Editor:

Two Oct. 13 articles suggest that we are moving back toward unfettered capitalism. The first was a front-page report on the growing practice among the wealthy to increase their wealth by taking advantage of a special tax break known as deferred compensation, thereby depriving society of vast funds urgently needed for things like infrastructure jobs, improved schools and medical research.

The second was Patricia Williams's Op-Ed article, "The Saints of Servitude," an insightful response to the drive for "work, work, work" as the solution for social ills ranging from delinquent children to unmarried mothers. What came to mind after reading these articles was a bitter quatrain written early in this century by the poet Sarah Cleghorn, encapsulating the financial immorality of her times:

The golf links lie so near the mill
That almost every day
The laboring children can look out
And see the men at play.

JOHN DARR
New York, Oct. 15, 1996

Russia Must Eliminate Abuse of the Homeless

To the Editor:

Your Oct. 15 front-page article about the deportation of homeless people from Moscow raises issues of concern to the international community.

Those people victimized by the harsh residence-permits system in Moscow are frequently newcomers, including some from newly independent states who have been displaced by conflict or discrimination and are seeking asylum.

At an International migration conference in May, the Russian Federation, along with the other governments in the region, agreed to respect an individual's "right of liberty of movement and the right freely to choose his/her place of residence within his/her own country."

The steering group of governments, including the United States, that is overseeing the implementation of this conference process is scheduled to meet for the first time in Geneva at the end of this month.

The apparent violation of this basic human rights principle should be placed high on the agenda of the Geneva meeting, and potential donor governments should insist that any financial assistance to Russia must be predicated upon eliminating this abuse.

ARTHUR C. HELTON
Director, Forced Migration Projects
Open Society Institute
New York, Oct. 16, 1996

Slovakia's Minorities

To the Editor:

Re your Oct. 14 editorial "A Blow to European Nationalism": Slovakia is one of the leading European countries in terms of protection of rights of ethnic minorities.

It is also one of a few European countries where international treaties on human rights take precedence over its own laws, provided they secure greater rights and freedoms.

Contrary to what you say, the new language law and the amendment of the national symbols law have not made life difficult for ethnic Hungarians, who are mostly clustered in the southern part of the country along the Hungarian border.

They can speak their own language, elect their own leaders, attend their own schools, read their own newspapers and attend their own cultural activities. Slovakia is committed to good relations with all its neighbors, including Hungary. The Slovak Republic has signed and ratified a treaty on friendly cooperation with Hungary. We welcome the conclusion of a similar treaty between Hungary and Romania, which in addition rules out the creation of autonomous ethnic entities and recognition of collective rights. BRANISLAV LICHARDUS
Ambassador of the Slovak Republic
Washington, Oct. 16, 1996

هللا من الاصل

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

A Dear Jiang Letter

On July 1, 1997, Hong Kong returns to China's control. When President Clinton sees China's President, Jiang Zemin, in the Philippines in a few weeks, it would be useful if he whispered something like this in his ear:

President Jiang, I have to tell you how concerned we are about the upcoming transition in Hong Kong, because it's something that could suddenly poison our whole relationship. We know, and respect, how important it is for China to recover this territory lost in the Opium War 150 years ago. My aides tell me there is now a clock in Tiananmen Square ticking off the days, minutes and seconds until you get Hong Kong back. But the real challenge for you will come after that clock strikes 12.

Only this year, seven years after the sad events in Tiananmen Square, have U.S.-China relations returned to some semblance of normalcy. Only this year has a consensus finally emerged among a slim majority of Democrats and Republicans for getting away from the annual M.F.N. debate about sanctioning China over human rights abuses and focusing instead on engaging China along a broad front to help you reach your full potential and become a responsible partner in the global system.

I know your view is that Hong Kong is an internal matter. Tell that to CNN. President Jiang, the world will be watching and nothing — nothing — could disrupt the new U.S. consensus on China more than if Hong Kong was mishandled and became the Tiananmen Square of the 1990's. Please think about the following:

You said you intend to disband the Hong Kong Legislative Council, Legco, and appoint your own provisional council. That's your business. But I hope you'll consider appointing some truly independent figures from across the political spectrum in Hong Kong — not just Hong Kong tycoons, some of whom are implicated in corruption on the mainland, who will simply toe your line. If you turn to such hacks, this council will have no credibility. The governor you appoint also needs to be someone who is strong and respected by the international community.

It is imperative that you allow the

Warning on Hong Kong.

independent Chinese-language Hong Kong newspapers, like The Hong Kong Economic Journal and the Ming Pan newspaper, to continue publishing. I was appalled when your Foreign Minister said last week that after July 1 the Hong Kong media "can put forward criticism, but not rumors or lies. Nor can they put forward personal attacks on Chinese leaders." You will never maintain Hong Kong's unique character without its free press.

You would also be wise to keep the troops of China's Peoples Liberation Army off the streets of Hong Kong. You should clarify in advance that if an incident occurs, the Hong Kong police and security forces will be solely responsible for law and order — not the P.L.A. garrison. You know how deeply the Tiananmen Square events resented in Hong Kong, and the sight of P.L.A. troops on the streets there will cause you problems.

Your Foreign Minister also told The Wall Street Journal that "Hong Kong should not hold those political activities which directly interfere in the affairs of the mainland." What does that mean? President Jiang, every year there is a candlelight vigil in Hong Kong's Victoria Park to mark the June 4 anniversary of Tiananmen. Sometimes more than 30,000 people attend. You will be provoked. Learn to grin and bear it.

Finally, you must maintain the integrity of the Hoog Kong stock exchange. It is the key to Hong Kong's financial success. But already we have seen some Chinese companies being listed in Hong Kong that don't publish timely earnings reports or accurate financial data. Undermine the credibility of the Hoog Kong stock market and you will be killing the golden goose that has so benefited China. If the corruptio epidemic that exists in your major cities spreads to Hong Kong, it will become a backwater.

President Jiang, Hong Kong is a unique international bridge between China and the world and between China and the U.S. That's why how you handle Hong Kong will not just impact its six million inhabitants, but also China's relations with the whole world. Congress has already passed a U.S.-Hong Kong Policy Act that will force me to isolate Hong Kong if China doesn't preserve its unique status. A blowup in Hong Kong will make Tiananmen Square pale in significance for China. We must avoid that — for your sake, for Hong Kong's sake, for the sake of Chinese-American



The Voters Sober Up

By Alan Ehrenhalt

Sometimes the best way to understand a Presidential campaign is to imagine how it might feel to have taken a nap in the middle of it.

Suppose you had dozed off nine months ago, in the midst of the primaries, and were waking up only now, with the fall Presidential campaign plodding to a close. Something would seem very strange. Not the candidates — they were odds-on favorites all along. Not the arguments, either. Bob Dole wants a big tax cut. President Clinton wants to protect education and Medicare. You didn't miss a whole lot there.

What's puzzling is the country that these two men seem to be talking about. It doesn't sound like the place where you went to sleep in January. That was a deeply dispirited country, mired in a hollow recovery that brought scarcely any relief to the millions who had lost jobs to the economic dislocations of the past decade.

In January, the campaign played to an audience primed to listen to tales of overpaid chief executives and amoral companies sacrificing dedicated employees to demands for ever higher stock prices.

It was a situation ripe for the populism of Pat Buchanan, and he went to town with it. But he wasn't the only one. While Mr. Buchanan railed in Iowa, and New Hampshire against corporate greed, the oews magazines were splashing it across their covers. In December 1995, The New York Times conducted a telephone poll in which 64 percent of 1,000 voters agreed that the country had "pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track." Only 20 percent said they were getting ahead financially. The rest thought they were barely staying afloat or slipping behind.

Nod off for a few months and you

Gullibility seems to be having an off year.

wake up in a different country altogether. The greedy capitalists and the exploited workers have disappeared. Not only is the President boasting about the health of the economy, but his opponent, when he does try to insist that something is wrong, hardly sounds as if he believes it. Every time you pick up a newspaper, a columnist is writing that Mr. Clinton will be re-elected because everyone is in such good spirits. While you were sleeping, the Age of Dislocation ended and a new Era of Good Feeling mysteriously began.

How did it come about? You wonder if there might have been some truly remarkable news — maybe an economic upturn of some sort. Perhaps the two parties finally agreed on a plan to balance the budget and the ensuing euphoria spread outward from Wall Street. But no, nothing like that appears to have happened. The economy is still in recovery, but it is the same erratic and uneven recovery — concentrated in the upper reaches of the work force — that had so many people in such a sour mood nine months ago.

Perhaps, then, the troubles were exaggerated, as so many economists

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have insisted all along. Maybe our problem last winter wasn't the dislocation of our economic lives but our failure to notice just how happy we really were.

But it couldn't have been an illusion. The deindustrialization of America over the last two decades, the loss of more than 40 million jobs, the fragility of even the most comfortable middle-class income — all of these are profoundly disruptive societal events that no economist can explain away. The social cost of laying off a worker isn't canceled out by the creation of some other job 1,000 miles away — especially when that job, more often than not, pays less or carries the threat of another layoff not too far down the road.

The American people understand this issue instinctively. How did it manage to disappear from the election year campaign?

The more you look around, the clearer it seems that this isn't really a season of satisfaction. The public opinion polls on personal satisfaction don't look much different from the way they looked in January. A survey conducted this month by The Washington Post, the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation and Harvard turned up the same feelings of financial insecurity and lack of confidence that were evident eight months ago. Only a quarter of voters said they expected the standard of living to rise over the next five years.

Satisfaction just isn't the word to describe the mood in this election year, no matter how many economists or how many columnists try to tell you that it is. Sobriety would be a much better term.

The vast majority of Americans believe that middle-class existence in the 1990's is frighteningly tenuous, and cheaper imported VCR's are not adequate reimbursement for these anxieties. These voters also believe that nobody knows how to change this situation — that maybe nothing can change it.

We have these seasons of sobriety every once in a while in American politics — we just don't have them very often. There was certainly nothing very sober about the Presidential election four years ago, with self-proclaimed "change agents" babbling their simple solutions. Nor was the election in 1994 sober, with the Republicans' swaggering talk of revolution. To find a mood anything like the current one, you have to go back to 1972, when the voters calmly re-elected Richard M. Nixon while scarcely seeming to like him at all.

Sometimes it takes a long time to sober up, and sometimes it happens with bewildering suddenness. For many Americans, it happened last Christmas, as they watched Congressional Republicans force a Government shutdown. Voters understood that episode much better than the major players, understood what it meant to hold the democratic process hostage to a fuzzy fiscal blueprint stretching years into the future.

Whatever most of us think of the Federal Government, very few of us believe it should be opened and closed because of ideological whims. The 1996 election has been shaped by those weeks last winter, whether we talk much about it or not.

I do not subscribe to the populist dictum that voters are more realistic than the politicians. Most of the time, alas, they are pretty easy to deceive. Tell them that you have a secret plan to end the Vietnam War, or that you know how to shrink 200 Federal agencies into a couple of dozen, or so many people in such a sour mood nine months ago.

Gullibility has its off years, however, and 1996 is one of them. Voters are disinclined to listen to a lot of easy answers from either party's candidate. They have sent that message to Bob Dole; he promised to cut

their taxes by 15 percent and found them not only skeptical but bored. Voters seem to have concluded that no candidate or party has good answers to the swarm of economic and cultural problems that confront American society in the closing years of the century.

It is easy enough to mistake this current state of mind for contentment, or, at the other extreme, to dismiss it as cynicism. But sobriety is really the word for it. This election is being conducted not with the usual anticipation of change but with the hard-earned recognition of how difficult and expensive change really is.

It won't last forever. Sooner or later, we will tire of sobriety and fall back into the hands of candidates eager to tell us about all the solutions that lie just around the corner. That will be a campaign truly worth sleeping through.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Mean and Meaner

WASHINGTON
There was a moment, in the San Diego debate, when Bob Dole actually looked as if he wanted to run and hide behind Jim Lehrer's chair.

All right, Bill Clinton had been playing alpha male, throwing gorilla dust at Mr. Dole, hoping to distract his opponent from attacking on character and ethics. In a campaign that choreographs every move for maximum public approval, right down to body language, Mr. Clinton was following his strategists' in-your-face script: "You lookin' at me, Bobster? Come over here and say that."

The President kept sidling out from behind his lectern, bearing down on Bob Dole and looking as if he were getting ready to give him a good clip from the side.

Answering a question on welfare, Mr. Clinton crowded poor Mr. Dole so much that the Republican backed away from his own lectern, apologetically murmuring, "I'm going to get out of your way here."

On a query about Social Security, the President came so close that Mr. Dole averted his eyes, turned as though he were going to make a dash for it, and ended up seeking sanctuary at the far edge of his lectern.

Mr. Clinton long ago understood the first rule of talk shows: There can be only one host, so make the other guy look like your sidekick.

The Dole camp had hoped its man could get the President to lose his temper. But it was Bill Clinton, the man of many faces, who unnerved Bob Dole. Behind that smarmy, feel-your-pain game face, the big fella looked menacing.

It was an odd reversal, like a horror movie where the creepy guy dissecting small animals turns out to be a biologist and the sweet-faced boy turns out to be the psychotic.

Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich are seen as the two scariest men in politics, Hatchet Man and Hatchet Fat Man. Perceived as grins who would starve children and harm gran- nies, they have sent women screaming from the G.O.P. (With all the time they spend talking to reporters, it's a miracle these women have time to watch soccer.)

So how come the big meanies are cowed by President Pushover?

The villains are inept, outmaneuvered at every turn. Their sensitive opponents turn out to play a more ruthless game than they do. Bill Clinton and Al Gore look like Boy Scouts, but they're absolute killers.

When Mr. Clinton first became President, he had a reputation as someone who could be rolled, someone who could not even rein in Democrats who expressed open disdain for his vacillating, prevaricating tendencies.

Bill (boo!) and Bob (boohoo!).

Mr. Gingrich also scorned the President's puppyish desire to please. A Gingrich aide told me that the new Speaker felt he could be tougher and more effective than Bill Clinton because he did not care if he was loved.

But then came the '95 budget negotiations. We learned that Mr. Gingrich did indeed need to be loved. Not only that — he needed to be loved by Bill Clinton. It puts you at a terrible disadvantage, being a man who needs to be loved by a man who needs to be loved.

Mr. Gingrich started talking about the President in a way that sounded disturbingly like a teen-age girl talking about Ethan Hawke. "I melt when I'm around him," he once confided to Clinton aides.

When Mr. Clinton did not pay enough attention to him on Air Force One, Mr. Gingrich pouted and sput down the Government. (The President didn't write, didn't call.)

He still sounds unrequited, either calling Mr. Clinton a deceiver or gushing, as he did after the debate, that "he is a very attractive personality."

Mr. Dole and Mr. Gingrich see Mr. Clinton the way a pickpocket sees a cat burglar.

Mr. Clinton practices the black arts better than they do. He is better at being insincere, better at being opportunistic, better at frightening the country, better at playing dirty.

They have to hand it to him. He's the best Republican of them all. He was able, like Ronald Reagan, to put a smiling face on a Republican revolution, which the frowning Mr. Dole and Mr. Gingrich were unable to do.

The big meanies never really grasped the art of being mean. Only nice folks can be mean. When you throw people off welfare, you must remember to feel their pain. No wonder Republican candidates everywhere are frightened. Bill Clinton is really scary.

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To be or not to be a parent

LAW REPORT
ASHER FELIX LANDAU

(Continued from last week)
In the Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Civil Appeals, before the President Justice Aharon Barak and Justices Gavriel Bach, Eliezer Goldberg, Theodore Orr, Elyahu Mazza, Ya'acov Kedmi, Yitzhak Zamir, Tova Strassberg-Cohen, Dalia Dorner, Zevi Tal, and Ya'acov Tirkel, in the matter of Daniel Nohmani, appellant, versus Ruti Nahmani and others, respondents (F.H.C. 2401/95, C.A.5587/93).

JUSTICE STRASSBERG-COHEN adhered to her previous ruling allowing Dani's appeal. Justice Tal repeated his decision in Ruti's favor, Justices Dorner, Goldberg and Kedmi agreeing with him (the Post, October 7, 1996), together with Justices Mazza, Bach and Tirkel (the Post, October 14, 1996).

JUSTICE ORR concurred with Justice Strassberg-Cohen in allowing Dani's appeal. He did not agree that the case presented a normative vacuum. The only question was whether Ruti had a legal right to demand Dani's consent to the process being continued, and the answer was negative. Dani's and Ruti's agreement was verbal, with no writing or particulars. It was not an ordinary contract. Its basis was their being life partners as a married couple. They wanted a child or children within a family unit. They intended it to have legal force. It was an agreement as to the framework, and was to be the forerunner of their agreements with third parties such as the hospital, the US institute, and the surrogate. They knew the process was full of pitfalls, would be long and very expensive, and would demand their joint efforts and consent at every stage.

One indication of their connection with the normative process was their acts within the 1987 regulations (above), and their knowing that regulation 14 demanded their joint consent to every stage of the fertilization process. Another indication was the provisions of the contract they both signed with the US surrogate institute, which spoke of agreements "for couples," and "prospective parents."

Dani had not "left the picture." His consent was required not only for the fertilization, but for the implantation, the selection of the surrogate, the agreement with her, and other details with the institute. Although the parties' agreement was informal and unusual, it was legal, and their intentions were to be tested in the usual way (see section 61 of the Contracts [General Part] Law of 1973). That way was on the basis of reasonableness, the surrounding circumstances, and their own conduct. All the facts showed that the cornerstone of their intentions was their being a married couple wanting a family, and that the consent of both of them to every step in the process was vital to its continuation.

He was fully aware of Ruti's plight, and his sympathy with her predicament was understandable. However, the court was obliged to apply the law. The whole basis of the agreement no longer existed, and the law gave her no right to impose on Dani his consent to the continuation of the process against his will. Moreover, in his opinion, the legal result in this instance was also the desirable result.

JUSTICE ZAMIR also proposed allowing the appeal. He stressed the court's duty to decide if the issue was justiciable and, if so, to apply the law. He feared some of his colleagues erred in holding there was a normative vacuum, and their resort to conceptions of justice was therefore unacceptable. The case was covered by the law, and what was legal was just.

The Surrogacy Law was only passed in 1996, and Dani and Ruti submitted their application to the hospital under the above 1987 regulations. He then examined the regulations 2(a), 5(b)(1)(2) and (3), 8 (c)(3), 9(a)(b), and 14(c), concluding that the husband's consent was required at every stage even when the couple were living together, let alone after they separated.

He disagreed, therefore, that after consenting to the fertilization the husband "left the picture." This finding was against the regulations, offended the conception of partnership in having children, and was unjust to the husband.

He also cited sections 2, 5, and 7 of the Surrogacy Law (above) to show that the legislature also favored the requirement of the consent of both parties to the whole process. Regulations should always be construed in the light of legislative statutes.

pital had agreed to the fertilization on the basis of a joint application by both parties. It followed, therefore, that it had no right to hand the embryos to Ruti alone against Dani's wishes.

He then considered the contractual rights between the parties. Section 25(a) of the Contracts (General Part) Law of 1973 required a contract to be interpreted according to the parties' intention as appearing from the circumstances. Although it dealt with an intimate subject between spouses it was, in his view, legal and enforceable. It said nothing about their separating, but the question arose whether this term was to be implied from the circumstances.

Justice Tal held that even if they separated Dani had no right to stop the process. He rejected this finding. Human experience and common sense dictated that if Dani had been asked, at the time, whether he consented under all conditions and in all circumstances, he would have said "no." The family unit no longer existed, and there was no legal basis for Ruti's present demand.

It was said that Dani was estopped from now denying his consent since Ruti had acted on the representation that he agreed to the whole process in all circumstances. He also could not accept this submission, there was no evidence that Dani made such a representation, and the truth probably was that neither of them thought then of the possibility of their separating. He then dealt with the concept of justice. There was general justice, and the particular justice relating to the parties. As to the former, he cited, inter alia, the findings of a government commission appointed in 1991, which recommended requiring both parties' consent at every stage. Agreeing to continuing the process on the basis of Ruti's consent alone was therefore contrary to both the law and general justice.

As to particular justice, it was true Ruti had undergone great physical danger and pain. But how was he to measure Dani's justice, faced with being forced to have a child he does not want? In any case, the difference between the justice owing to both parties was not sufficient to justify deciding against both the law and general justice.

JUSTICE BARAK also agreed to allowing Dani's appeal. Both the law and justice, he said, demanded the consent of both parties at every stage of the process for so long as the embryos were out in a woman's body. His view rested on a simple fundamental proposition: parenthood was a unique and special status embracing man's existence, involving rights and obligations, and based on love and mutual respect.

When the partnership ended, and the parties separated, and mutual love and respect vanished, the only basis for decisions regarding the embryos also disappeared.

The constitutional rights to be or not to be a parent, enjoyed by both Dani and Ruti, were not in conflict, but Ruti had no right to be the mother particularly of Dani's child. Justice and equality demanded that all decisions throughout the process be mutual. The process was lengthy, and was based on joint parentage, and designed to be completed by the wishes of both parents. The public welfare also demanded that the child would be born by the mutual consent of both parents.

He agreed that pain and suffering were important factors to be considered, but giving one parent alone the power of decision over the process was not just. Bringing a child into the world was too serious a matter to be left to one parent's decision only.

Both the law and justice demanded that Dani's opposition to the process being continued be in good faith. The District Court had found that he had so acted, and the circumstances justified that finding. The loss of love and trust between married couples was part of life, and happened without any intention of hurting the other partner.

In conclusion the President clarified that he had expressed no opinion regarding the status of the unborn child or children, a matter which did not fall for consideration in this case. In the result, the court's judgment in C.A. 5587/93 was set aside, Dani's appeal was dismissed, and the District Court's judgment in Ruti's favor was restored, with no order as to costs.

Dayana Har-Even appeared for Dani, and Ziv Gruber appeared for Ruti. The judgment was given on September 12, 1996. (This is the conclusion of a three part series)

A yeshiva's 'ideological tour' reveals tension and tolerance in Hebron, reports Greer Fay Cashman

AS the site of the first recorded Jewish real-estate transaction (Abraham's purchase of a field for a burial site), Hebron, long in the eye of the political storm, attracts tourists of a slightly different ilk than elsewhere. Sure it gets its fair share of religious pilgrims who come to pray at the tombs of the patriarchs, and it gets those tourists who are interested in biblical history. But most of all, it gets ideological tourists - people who fervently believe that whatever else transpires from peace negotiations, Hebron must remain a Jewish enclave.

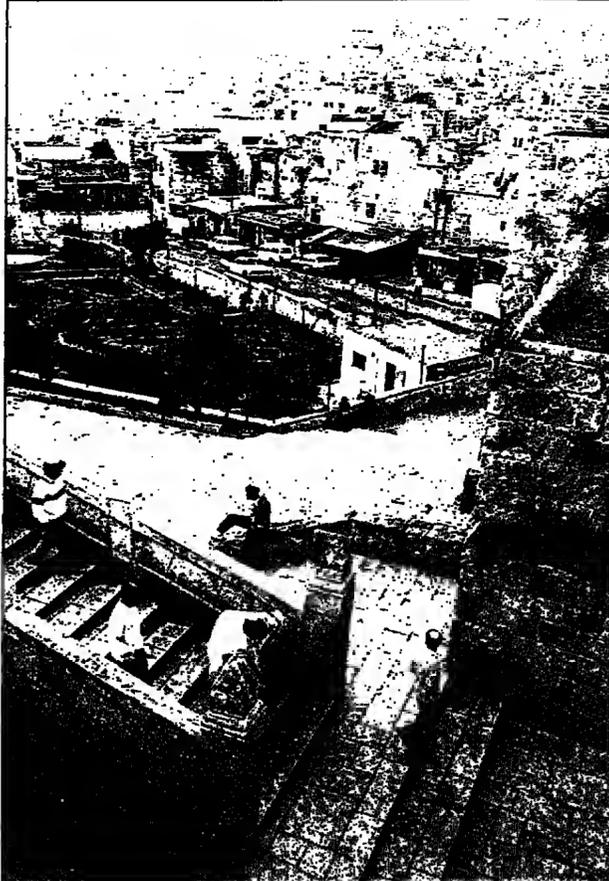
They come for a few hours to help swell the Jewish presence in Hebron, marvel at the modern Jewish ghetto and wonder aloud how safe it is to explore the Arab market.

Amongst the different groups conducting tours to Hebron is the Shavei Hebron Yeshiva, which has quite a history of its own. The only yeshiva operating in Hebron, it is located in the three-story premises established in 1870 by the Romano family of Istanbul. In 1912, the building was purchased by the Schneersohn family and became the site of the first Habad yeshiva in Eretz Yisrael.

After the First World War it was confiscated by the Turks and later by the British who used it for both police and administrative headquarters. In 1929, Jewish survivors of the Hebron massacre were sheltered in this building, which in 1948 was converted by the Jordanians into a girls' school. In 1982, it reverted to Jewish ownership and once again became a yeshiva, teaching at different levels.

The student population, including married students, today numbers 245. The yeshiva is expanding and because of the high demand, its student intake will soon number 600. Currently under construction, at a cost of \$2.5 million, are a fourth floor dormitory, a fifth-floor house of study and a women's section which will encompass a gallery, library and classrooms.

The yeshiva runs a Breakfast of the Month



All is quiet on the steps leading to the Central Gate of the Cave of Machpelah - until the tourists come. (David Brauner)

Clo to introduce its facilities to potential donors, potential students and parents of potential students.

On the Friday closest to the new month in the Hebrew calendar, Los Angeles transplant David Newman, who is the yeshiva's director of special projects, comes to Jerusalem to oversee the transport arrangements for those

who want to take the NIS 40 per-person tour. Pick-up points are at Har Nof, Binyenci Ha'uma, Mount Zion and Efrat.

On the Friday that I went, the bus was over-booked and some of the passengers had to be off-loaded onto a transit truck. Our group included an interesting mix of tourists and locals: religious and secular, left wing and right wing, ranging in age from late teens to late seventies.

When we arrived at the Cave of Machpelah parking lot, we saw that scores of buses had preceded us. Hundreds of schoolchildren, family groups, yeshiva students and elderly people milled on the stairs leading to the tombs of the patriarchs. Some were conducting morning services because they didn't want to wait until the crowds in the cave area had dispersed.

Gideon Margalit, the yeshiva's public relations director, decided that we would pray inside and quite miraculously managed to find a vacant area where screens were quickly put up to separate the men from the women.

On completion of the prayers, Margalit gave us a short spiel on the architectural history of the structure and we were then taken to the yeshiva for breakfast.

With our appetites sated, we trooped upstairs to a small, cramped room where yeshiva head Rabbi Elnatan Horowitz, another American transplant, gently lectured to us. Some of us were less interested in what he had to say than the way that the fringes of his tallit katan w4

were somehow intertwined with the gun at the back of his belt and the beeper at the front. Walking back to the bus, we were taken on an all-too-brief tour of one of the Jewish neighborhoods where herds of tiny tots playing in a sand box were living symbols of optimism for the future.

As we emerged, one of the locals pointed to a row of shops, telling us that they were all Jewish properties which had been appropriated by the Arabs.

If this statement was intended to arouse our ire, it didn't quite succeed - perhaps because the shops were far inferior to the residential area from which we had just exited.

We were then told about the terrorist killer of a yeshiva student who was released from prison, and who is the proprietor of one of these shops. This piece of information did provoke some anger, but for some of us it dissipated quickly as an Arab family with an absolutely gorgeous baby came into view.

It was impossible not to smile at the infant and the warmth of that smile transferred itself to the mother, who turned in our direction, smiled back and said "Hi." Perhaps that is what we should all be working towards in Hebron.

Double tragedy: Displaced persons lead to depleted environments

IF you were born after 1940, then you should know that there are five human beings on this planet for every one that emerged in the year of your birth: at least one of whom is living at bare subsistence level and two living in abject poverty, without hope, with no foreseeable future and no dreams. At least one of them is either a displaced person or a refugee.

Being a displaced person or a refugee is something that can happen for a variety of reasons. First of all, and most familiar, is actual war. But there are other factors: droughts, floods, crop failures from many causes, political manipulations.

To be displaced is simply a state in which a human being finds himself without the very basics we accept as a norm. No shelter, no food, no future, no hope. This includes masses that have, with remarkable courage, migrated to what they thought might give them a better chance at living a normal life.

There are far more refugees and displaced persons today than there were at the end of World War II, and unless the world community addresses the problem of this multitude of displaced people nothing will be done.

There is no doubt in the mind of any thinking person that the problem of displaced persons is a

humanitarian issue of the most serious proportions. Displacement, homelessness, sickness, overcrowding, disease and malnutrition - if not actual starvation - are the familiar specters that haunt the refugees of the world.

It might therefore seem to some that even mention of the environmental issues involved here is, at best, insensitive. This, however is not the case.

Displacement of large numbers of people inevitably leads to destruction of locations, depletion of natural resources and decimation of environmental attributes. These deprivations ultimately leave a situation that persists with all its negative impact, for periods extending long after the immediate needs of the displaced have been met, and long after their wounds have begun, albeit slowly, to heal.

Right now there are at least 19 million displaced persons in the world and the number is growing every day.

If one compares this with the two million such asylum seekers of 1951 then one sees the enormity of the problem. Asia, and the turbulent period through which its people have passed, accounts for seven million of these displaced people, six million of them having fled Afghanistan alone.

Africa is the second largest focus for displacement, with 5.2

EARTHLY CONCERNS D'VORA BEN SHAUL

million coming from that continent. The collapse of governments in Yugoslavia and the former USSR added another 3.6 million people seeking out an existence in places other than their homelands, and Latin America and North America each contributed about one million.

In addition to armed conflicts there are other pressures building up that will, in the end, swell the already massive tide of displaced refugees. In Africa, 45 percent of the total population is under the age of 15 years, in Iraq, Iran and Syria 47 to 49 percent of the population is under 15, and in Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua a bit more than 45 percent.

It is obvious that these massive numbers of young people, lacking education, jobs, homes, health care and even access to such a basic need as clean drinking water will have the explosive needs and the hopeless fumes that form a basic element of the destabilization of entire countries. This type of instability has already been seen in the disrupted central Asian republics, in Egypt, and in Algeria, amongst other places. These populations will survive

by consuming environmental resources in a manner that will impoverish the areas where they live and deprive all future inhabitants of even the most basic needs. The destruction of farmlands is one case in point where we now lose an area of arable land the size of Ireland each year, mostly because of overpopulation, displacement and abandonment.

But so far, no one seems to have an answer to this problem. Relief agencies are often in the position of someone trying to dry up a river with a bathroom sponge. Every day the problem becomes more critical yet fails to rank in the top level of important problems on the agendas of the best-educated and informed governments in the world.

THREE DAY SEMINAR ON THE WORLD OF THE SAGES (חז"ל)

After the destruction of the Second Temple, the Jewish people were confronted with the question - to be or not to be.

At Yevne, Rabban Yohanan and Rabban Gamliel and their disciples chose to be.

Their efforts placed Judaism on a renewed path - this time without the Temple.

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The evening will take place on
Tuesday, October 29, 1996 at 7:30 p.m. at the Dan Hotel, Rehov Hayarkon, Tel Aviv.

Program:
Assembly and reunion
Gala dinner

Debate on the Sinai Campaign with:
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The Sinai Campaign: Planning vs. Performance
Minister Maj.-Gen. (Res.) Ariel Sharon -
"The Sinai Campaign: Fighting on the Enemy's Homefront"
Maj.-Gen. (Res.) Avraham (Bren) Adan -
"The Sinai Campaign - When Tanks Made History"
Moderator: Yissachar Goldratt, the Open University

The evening will be conducted in Hebrew.
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For ticket reservations, Tel. 03-646-0207/8, or Fax. 03-646-0708.

BUSINESS & FINANCE

Monday, October 21, 1996

IDB Development buys Hapoalim's surplus stake in Clal for NIS137m.

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

BANK Hapoalim has sold its surplus holdings in Clal Israel to IDB Development for NIS137 million, the companies told the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange yesterday.

The holding company acquired 1.8 million ordinary shares of Clal, representing 6 percent of the company's stock capital. The shares were purchased at a rate of NIS76 for every NIS1 share, about 2% higher than the market value of the shares on the TASE.

Together with its previous holding, IDB Development now directly controls 42.7% of Clal's stock, making it the largest shareholder in the company. Clal is one of the country's biggest public investment companies.

Bank Hapoalim's sale of Clal's shares is in line with the newly reformed Bank (Licensing) Law, which is to reshape the banks' activities so that they would deal less with non-banking operations.

According to the revised law, which was passed shortly before the recent elections, banks must cut their holdings in non-financial firms to 25% or less by December 31. Following the sale, Bank Hapoalim will hold 25% of the company's share capital.

The bank will register after-tax capital gains of NIS10m, as a result of the sale, which will be recorded in the bank's financial statements for the fourth quarter of 1996.

IDB Development is a principal subsidiary of IDB Holding, which holds the group's investment activities.

IDB Development's major subsidiaries include Discount Investment and PEC Israel Ecoo Corp.

IDB has a 55% share in Discount, which in turn owns 6.7% of Clal. Indirectly and directly, IDB controls 49.4% of Clal.

The joint general-manager of IDB Development Eli Coheo confirmed the deal, explaining that at current market prices it was worthwhile for IDB to increase its holdings in Clal.

The companies informed the TASE of the transaction after the close of trading.

Levy: Observant US investors offer to buy six-day-a-week El Al

Transportation Minister still favors public flotation of national carrier

DAVID HARRIS

A GROUP of US businessmen has said it is prepared to purchase El Al, without the airline operating on Shabbat, Transport Minister Yitzhak Levy told the *Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

Levy, who would not identify the prospective investors, said he has held meetings over the last two months with the Israeli representatives of these religious Jewish businessmen.

Despite this development, Levy also said yesterday he favors a public flotation of El Al rather than a single sale of the controlling share in the company. Levy expressed this view following a visit last week to the successfully privatized British Airways.

"In my opinion, the privatization should be by public flotation, because at the end of the day we're talking about a company with national significance," said Levy. "I see the privatization as having several stages, which should take approximately two years, but the program must start today."

Levy has made it clear on several occasions he will oppose any attempt to let a privatized El Al operate on Shabbat. "Even after being pri-

vated, El Al has to protect the national character by not flying on Shabbat," he said in August, during a visit to El Al's Ben Gurion office.

Having taken a closer look at the issue, Levy said he remains convinced the Shabbat issue is not the key economic factor. "I personally believe most of the losses are not accrued by not flying on Shabbat," said Levy. "They appear, in the main, to be the result of a steep decline in tourist numbers, something that is not only affecting El Al but all aspects of tourism in the country."

Meanwhile, Levy is scheduled to meet Interior Minister Eh' Smissa next week to discuss ways of speeding up the legal and planning processes for the Ben Gurion 2000 project.

It is vital to begin the Ben Gurion improvements as soon as possible, said Levy.

The minister also is looking for a site for an additional international airport, in all probability in the northern Negev, but not at the

Negev site proposed by Labor.

The local and environmental opposition has been very strong, with a series of appeals to the High Court of Justice. But Levy said yesterday his Ministry is at an advanced stage in negotiations with local residents, and is hopeful issues will be resolved amicably.

"I don't think Ben Gurion can be Israel's only international airport. It's not good for a number of reasons - for certain security concerns, and economic factors. We need an expansion of Ben Gurion, but within defined borders, not with the vision of it as our only international airport."

During the "New Government, New Opportunities" conference for potential US investors, held in New York a fortnight ago, Levy presented the Ben Gurion 2000 scheme in an attempt to attract foreign capital. Once the project is completed, the airport will have a projected annual capacity of 16 million passengers.

The full interview with Yitzhak Levy will appear in *Money Magazine* this Wednesday.

NEWS IN BRIEF

The shekel posted a continued devaluation at the end of last week, due to the huge demand from the business sector on Thursday and Friday, which totaled \$230 million and pushed the dollar up 2.1 percent. During the last two weeks, the shekel devalued 2.7% against the dollar and 2.4% compared with a basket of currencies. The high demand for foreign currency started last week, following the Bank of Israel's publication of the September Consumer Price Index, which was lower than expected.

Galit Lipkis Beck

Koor Industries and Clal in talks to sell 20% of Neshet: Koor Industries and its partner Clal Israel are in talks with four major world cement suppliers about a sale of up to 20% of Neshet, the local monopoly supplier of cement, Benjamin Gaon, president and chief executive of Koor, said last week. The companies are in talks with Cemex, Holderbank, Italcementi and Lafarge.

Galit Lipkis Beck

Arkia yesterday opened a new landing strip at Yotvata that is capable of serving a Dash 7 plane with 50 passengers. The inland airline, which invested NIS1.5m in the project, is to run two flights a day between the airfield and Tel Aviv.

Haim Shapiro

Meridor: Economy slowing, but not recessionary

DAVID HARRIS

THE economy is slowing rapidly, but still is not recessionary, said Finance Minister Dan Meridor during an official visit to Dimona and Yerucham, yesterday.

Once again, Meridor called on his Knesset colleagues to fully endorse the proposed NIS4.9 billion in budget cuts for the next financial year. Meridor will introduce the budget proposals to the Knesset at the end of this month.

"If we don't make the cuts in the government budget, we will find ourselves in a deep crisis in the coming years," said Meridor.

He also repeated the accusation that the current slowdown is the direct result of the policies of the Labor government over the last two years.

Exports, but he declined to back the industrialists' calls for a devaluation of the shekel.

"There is no need to encourage exports in an active way, by devaluing the shekel," said the Minister. "Over the last couple of days, there has been a definite change in the shekel exchange rate, by 1 percent, then by another. But saving exports will not come about by devaluing the rate of the shekel, if at the same time there is a nationwide increase in wages."

The negative trend in exports began in January and continued until June, according to Meridor. This is the first time exports have failed to increase in seven years, he said.

"Exports were affected, yet production was unchanged, because the government bought the goods itself and so exports declined," Meridor said. "The less the government purchases, so exports will increase. And this is what needs to be done by way of a considerable reduction in public expenditure."

This means, Meridor said, that the government must cut down on demand to ensure industrialists are not merely producing goods for the public sector, but also for the export markets.

During a press conference, Meridor gave his full backing to Treasury director-general David Brodet, following a call for Brodet's resignation at the weekend from Michael Eitan, head of the Likud faction.

"I have full confidence in the staff of my ministry and in director-general Brodet," said Meridor. "I suggest that everyone gets on with their own job."

Meridor expressed his concern at the virtual end of growth in

exports, but he declined to back the industrialists' calls for a devaluation of the shekel.

"There is no need to encourage exports in an active way, by devaluing the shekel," said the Minister. "Over the last couple of days, there has been a definite change in the shekel exchange rate, by 1 percent, then by another. But saving exports will not come about by devaluing the rate of the shekel, if at the same time there is a nationwide increase in wages."

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Fantasy shopping, sans logic

WANT some unusual holiday gift ideas? Neiman Marcus is only too happy to oblige: How about a miniature replica of a rock 'n' roll sound stage crafted in 18-karat gold, diamonds, and mother of pearl?

Or if the \$1.6 million price tag is a bit too steep, perhaps you'd prefer a "his-and-hers" silver Airstream trailer with custom-designed interior, including antique rugs, oil paintings, and beaded fabric for \$195,000. Or, for something completely different, there's a \$9,400 gold-plated, castle-shaped doghouse.

But sorry, the limited-edition, titanium-colored XK-8 convertible Jaguar - all 50, each with a price tag of \$74,975 - are already sold out.

Yes, long before Thanksgiving comes notice that the holiday shopping season is already upon us: Neiman Marcus' venerable holiday fantasy catalog has begun arriving across the US, proving that conspicuous consumption is alive and well, or at least dreams of it.

Three million copies of the 96-page glossy catalog were mailed, advertising not only extravagant gifts but also more down-to-earth items such as bathrobes and pizza shaped like the state of Texas.

But every year Neiman Marcus includes a dozen or so "fantasy" items that since the catalog debuted in 1959 have never failed to generate loads of free publicity for the Dallas-based department-store chain and catalog retailer.

But more important than the sales these items generate is the tony image the catalog helps maintain for the retailer.

Kenneth M. Gassman, a retail analyst, said the demand for fantasy items does not wax and wane like typical retail trends.

"The top two-tenths of 1 percent of all US consumers will always buy this stuff regardless of the economy," Gassman said. "Logic does not prevail."

The Washington Post

Leumi denies surrender to political dictate at Africa-Israel

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

BANK Leumi yesterday denied reports that plans to appoint a top Likud official and confidante of Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu as chairman of its subsidiary company, Africa-Israel, are politically motivated.

Izzi Tapuchi, who serves as treasurer of the Likud, will be appointed to the board of Africa-Israel today. At a later date, the board is scheduled to hold a meeting to appoint Tapuchi chairman of the real-estate and investment company. Tapuchi also serves as deputy manager of Pioneer Israel.

At least one of Bank Leumi's board members, Gideon Shtetiat, objects to the appointment on the grounds that it is political.

Tapuchi is considered a very close associate of Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu. It has been reported that he advises him on economic issues on a regular basis.

Bank Leumi yesterday denied reports that Chairman Eitan Raff favors the appointment because it would secure his post as chairman of the government-owned bank.

French companies seek arms deals in Qatar

DOHA (Reuters) - General Jean-Philippe Douin, joint chief of staff of the French armed forces, yesterday ended talks in the Gulf state of Qatar that included the prospect of selling French arms to the oil- and gas-rich state, diplomats said.

"The visit was basically in the framework of the defense treaty which Qatar and France signed in 1994," said a French embassy spokesman at the end of Douin's visit, the first by a French army chief of staff to Qatar since the 1991 Gulf war.

Qatar signed defense pacts with the US, France, and Britain, after the war that ended Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Western diplomats in Doha said Douin discussed possible weapons sales to Qatar during his three-day visit.

France is the main supplier of fighter planes to the Qatari air force and is competing with US and British arms manufacturers to sell Qatar 50 Leclerc main-battle tanks.

Douin held talks with Qatari Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani and senior defense officials during his visit.

The French embassy spokesman said four French warships were expected to arrive in Doha by the end of the month to take part in joint naval wargames with Qatar's navy in early November.



Editorial director Liu Heung Shing stands in front of a painting showing workers from communist China and a poster of the monthly magazine 'The Chinese,' which will hit newsstands November 1 and is intended to be a high-society magazine for the world's Chinese communities.

Dimona plans citywide strike to protest textiles collapse

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

THE entire city of Dimona will shut down almost completely tomorrow in an act of solidarity with employees of the Dimona Textile factory, said Yossi Butbul, secretary of the city's workers council, yesterday.

The city entrances and exits will be closed off, and the education system, public institutions, banks, and businesses will close for a few hours.

Finance Minister Dan Meridor visited Dimona yesterday at the request of the city council. During the course of his visit, a demonstration was held in front of the city council chamber as a show of support for the 280 families who

of the Histadrut's strike fund. In the meantime, the company's liquidator is in the process of selling off Dimona's stocks.

About three months ago, a foreign investor expressed interest in purchasing the firm, but at the last minute the investor backed down, partly because of the negative atmosphere surrounding the closure of the factory.

During the last few years, the textile sector has suffered from losses, partly because of companies' exposure to cheaper imports. That has led to the closure of several factories. Only last week 200 Kitan workers in Beit She'an were given notice.

They were given notice following the decision by the owners of Dimona Textile to close the factory as a result of financial problems. The company is currently in liquidation.

"The layoffs have left families from Dimona, Yeroham and the Beersheba area without work," said Butbul, who said the workers need assistance.

"We told Meridor that Dimona is on the map of Israel and can't be ignored. It simply can't be that we don't receive help."

So far, the Dimona workers have received two pay slips out of

Japanese election results no panacea for troubled economy

TOKYO (Reuters) - The messy outcome of Japan's general election yesterday leaves unanswered questions about economic policy, as the nation, emerging from a lengthy slump, struggles to clear a path to future growth.

The general election was the first since the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) lost its monopoly on power three years ago. It put the party in the driver's seat but without the clear majority that many pollsters had thought possible.

LDP secretary-general Koichi Kato said the LDP - before the election the dominant partner in a three-way bloc with the Social Democrats and the tiny Sakigake Party - would seek to join with those former allies plus the fledgling Democratic Party. But some wondered how easy that could be.

"It's hard to see how they will get a majority in the Lower House, and they need one in the Upper House too," said Robert Feldman, chief economist at Salomon Brothers Asia.

"It's not clear to me where major economic policies are going," said Feldman, citing such issues as tax reform, deregulation and provision for a rapidly aging society.

The election was the first since LDP's 38-year monopoly on power and, instead, gave a mandate to a reformist coalition.

That shocking shift brought with it reformers' pledges to cut the red tape critics say strangles businesses. Dreams of change, however, were dashed by policy deadlock as parties stumbled into a series of

coalitions culminating in a bizarre outcome between the LDP and its old Socialist rivals.

Some optimists had hoped an LDP majority would help Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, who is expected to head the next government, end policy drift and enact the deregulation big business wants and economists say is vital.

Expectations of an LDP majority pushed up Tokyo share prices last week on hopes of political stability and reform.

Pessimists, however, doubt whether the LDP is willing - either single-handedly or in partnership - to take the bold initiatives many say are needed to rejuvenate the economy.

"There are two types of reform - liberalisation versus tinkering with the existing system to make things better," said Chris Calderwood, chief economist at BZW Securities. "I think the LDP is in the second camp."

In the short term, the need for the LDP to scramble for coalition partners clouds the outlook for some concrete steps business and share-market players are keen to see implemented.

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U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	3.750	5.000	5.375	
Pound sterling (£100,000)	3.875	4.000	4.250	
German mark (DM 200,000)	1.825	1.825	2.125	
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	0.625	0.750	1.000	
Yen (10 million yen)				

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (18.10.96)					
CURRENCY	CHECKS AND TRANSFERS		BANKNOTES		Rep. Rates**
	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	
Currency basket	3.6103	3.6888			3.8437
U.S. dollar	3.2288	3.2812	3.18	3.34	3.2850
German mark	2.1005	2.1344	2.06	2.17	2.1188
Pound sterling	5.1382	5.2181	5.01	5.30	5.1822
French franc	2.5818	2.6278	2.63	2.97	2.8278
Japanese yen (100)	1.8715	1.9017	1.83	1.93	1.8867
Dutch florin	2.5522	2.5924	2.50	2.63	2.5758
Swedish krona	0.4872	0.5036	0.47	0.51	0.4917
Norwegian krona	0.4855	0.4961	0.47	0.51	0.5001
Denmark krone	0.4885	0.5074	0.48	0.52	0.5031
Finland mark	0.7020	0.7134	0.68	0.73	0.5535
Canadian dollar	2.3947	2.4234	2.35	2.47	2.4178
Australian dollar	0.6217	0.6318	0.64	0.66	2.1274
S. African rand	2.5818	2.6278	2.52	2.66	2.5984
Belgian franc (10)	1.0183	1.0283	1.00	1.03	0.7188
Austrian schilling (10)	2.3853	2.4234	2.33	2.47	1.0290
Italian lira (1000)	2.1084	2.1425	2.07	2.18	3.0198
Jordanian dinar	4.5000	4.6100	4.50	4.81	2.1274
Egyptian pound	0.9200	1.0000	0.92	1.00	4.8258
ECU	4.6345	4.6996	4.60	4.81	1.0297
Irish punt	5.1825	5.2661	5.09	5.34	4.0720
Spanish peseta (100)	2.4858	2.5361	2.45	2.58	5.2288

*These rates vary according to bank. **Bank of Israel.
SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

הגלית מן האל

Weizman to speak at Knesset's Rabin memorial session

BATSHEVA TSUR

PRESIDENT Ezer Weizman will address Thursday's special Knesset session marking the first anniversary of Yitzhak Rabin's assassination.

On Wednesday, Weizman will meet with Yuval Rabin, who will head a delegation of Dor Hadash Doresh Shalom (An Entire Generation Demands Peace) movement that will visit Beit Hanassi.

Education Minister Zevulun Hammer said yesterday that he will personally head a committee planning to make Rabin's yahrzeit, 11 Heshvan, a day of national unity and tolerance.

The Ministerial Committee on Ceremonies and Symbols decided yesterday that the anniversary will be a national day of remembrance for at least the next 10 years. Itim reported. But the committee decided not to declare it to be a day of national mourn-

ing. In an interview with Israel Radio to mark the anniversary of the assassination, Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat said of Rabin: "You are my friend, Prime Minister Rabin, whom I have missed. I can't forget you... Not me personally, but the Palestinian people have missed him; the Israeli people have missed him. The whole area in the Middle East has lost him. Shalom Haver, I miss you."

The radio quoted Arafat as saying he had warned that there were Palestinian extremists in Israeli jails who planned together with Jewish extremists to murder himself and Rabin.

Rabin, he said, was a man who stood by his word, and the peace process would look a lot different now if he were alive.

Jon Immanuel contributed to this report.



Dressed in protective gear, firemen struggle to contain the salicylic acid leaking from a truck on the Geha Road yesterday. The spill, caused when the truck braked suddenly, led to the evacuation of those living within 100 meters of the scene. The truck driver and two firemen were hospitalized after suffering from the fumes and the road was closed for five hours, resulting in massive traffic jams. (Israel Sun)

Al-Quds University head warns of danger of war

BILL HUTMAN

WAR will break out between Israel and its neighborhoods if no agreement is reached on Hebron and the peace process collapses, warned Sari Nusseibeh, president of Al-Quds University.

Speaking at a Hebrew University conference yesterday, Nusseibeh, a leading mainstream Palestinian figure, said there were "two scenarios of a breakdown in the peace process."

In one scenario, the breakdown occurs on the issue of Hebron, or one of the other interim stage issues. This will mean clashes, a war between Israel and its neighbors," Nusseibeh said.

He offered a second scenario in which the breakdown occurs later, such as during the final status talks on Jerusalem, and said that also would result in war.

Nusseibeh's lecture focused on

Jerusalem, on which he offered a guardedly optimistic analysis of the possibilities of compromise. He called on the PA and Israel to immediately enter into talks on the city's future, saying there is no reason to delay addressing the issue.

The Palestinian stand on Jerusalem, which respects Jewish claims in the city, offers the possibility of a "historic compromise," according to Nusseibeh. Israel, however, is repeatedly declaring Jerusalem its undivided, eternal capital, presents a rejectionist position, he said.

"Jerusalem could be the gateway to peace... and the way for Israel to be accepted as a full partner in the region," Nusseibeh said, adding that without an agreement on Jerusalem "Israel will never find a place in the region."

Histadrut campaigns against Brodet Report

MICHAL YUDELMAN

THE Histadrut has launched a campaign against the recommendations of the Brodet Committee, which, if implemented, it says, will worsen the pension terms of the entire working population.

Histadrut Chairman MK Amir Peretz yesterday convened the directors of the pension funds to discuss the recommendations concerning the pension plans, and urged them to oppose implementing the report.

The Histadrut intends to authorize the labor unions to impose sanctions against the recommendations, and Peretz said he would oppose any compromise on the worker's pension terms.

The Histadrut leadership met yesterday to debate the findings of actuary Ya'acov Antler, the Histadrut's adviser for the pension agree-

ment. According to Antler, reducing the basis for pensions, from twice the average wage to the average wage, as the committee recommended, would adversely affect the entire population.

He said that some 70 percent of all workers would lose 2.5% of their pensions, which is equal to two years' savings in the pension funds or four-and-a-half-months' wages. The remaining 30% would lose some 8% of their pension, which is equal to a year's pay, or five years' savings in the pension funds.

Antler also found that the new pension regulations published by the Treasury constitute a blatant violation of the pension agreements it signed with the Histadrut.

The violations concern the status of the pensionable components in wages and the status of civil service and local authority workers, who are being transferred from budgetary pension to accumulative pension plans.

Peretz said the Brodet recommendations "are a unilateral violation of the work agreements and agreements between the Histadrut and the government. In addition, they discriminate against young workers joining the labor market, while favoring veteran workers."

The directors of the pension funds warned that the recommendations discriminate against the pension funds, compared to other savings plans, by reducing the state guarantee to the gains of the government bonds allocated to the pension funds.

Court to decide whether to identify intermediary in wiretapping case

RAINE MARCUS

THE legal battle over whether to lift the confidentiality clause and publication ban regarding the man who acted as the intermediary in the media wiretapping case continued in Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Judge George Kara decided to comply with the requests of lawyers for *Ma'ariv* publisher Ofer Nimrodi and the daily's security officer David Ronen and allowed the identity of the intermediary to be published, but the latter immediately lodged an appeal with Tel Aviv District Court, which will rule on the case this morning.

The individual acted as an intermediary between state's witness Ya'acov Tsur and police when the former decided to tell the National Crimes Squad who commissioned scores of wiretaps on senior media personnel and businessmen. Tsur largely concentrated on implicating Nimrodi and Ronen.

The intermediary, a businessman, made secret preliminary contacts between police and Tsur so that the state's witness agree-

ment could be drafted. The intermediary strongly objects to having his identity published, since he was granted total confidentiality by former Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal and received no money for his services.

However, Nimrodi's lawyers, Dan Avi-Yitzhak and Yehuda Weinstein, asked Kara to lift the confidentiality clause regarding the intermediary, arguing that he is essential to the defense case and may lead them to new information which could help them.

Last week, Kara lifted the clause, the intermediary asked him to prolong his ruling, and when it was given yesterday, the intermediary appealed to the district court, which postponed the hearing until this morning.

At 10 a.m., Judge Avraham Baizer is expected to decide whether the press, which is aware of the intermediary's identity, will be allowed to publish his name and details, and whether Nimrodi's defense lawyers will be permitted to use him in the case.

Greenpeace to help local researchers study dolphins

DAVID RUDGE

GREENPEACE is helping local researchers conduct a study of the area dolphin population, which will indirectly gauge the effects of pollution on them. The researchers will use Greenpeace's most advanced ship, *Arctic Sunrise*.

The arrival this week at Haifa of the ship, the seventh in the international environmental organization's fleet, also marks the 25th anniversary of Greenpeace's founding in Canada.

This study results from growing concern over the dolphin population in the Mediterranean, after a deadly virus killed 6,000 of them in 1991.

Ory Zik, Greenpeace's local representative, said scientific studies at that time revealed that the virus's effects had been exacerbated because exposure to toxins resulting from pollution of the sea and the food chain had "devastated" the dolphins' immune systems.

Zik said Greenpeace and local environmentalists are particularly concerned about dioxin's effects. "Dioxin is a waste product of

PVC manufacture and is also caused by the incineration of chlorinated substances," Zik said. "It has been proved that carcinogenic substances, such as dioxin and some other toxic waste materials, have an effect on the immune and reproductive systems of mammals."

During half of its six-day stay, the *Arctic Sunrise* will try to follow dolphins' routes and researchers will count them, while drawing and photographing them and noting behavioral patterns.

Greenpeace conducts similar surveys around the world. This survey is being conducted in conjunction with Haifa University's Center for Maritime Studies, the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel, and the Maritime Mammals Research Center.

The *Arctic Sunrise* is also due to put into Ashdod, where an open day will be held on Friday. A similar open day aboard the ship will be held in Haifa on Saturday, before it leaves to carry out research in the Antarctic.

Islamic Movement to mark 40 years since Kafr Kassem tragedy

DAVID RUDGE

THE spiritual head of the Islamic Movement Sheikh Abdullah Nisar Darweesh yesterday called on the government to reach a "sulha" (reconciliation) with the Palestinian people.

Darweesh made the call at a press conference in Tel Aviv yesterday to announce preparations to mark the 40th anniversary next Tuesday of what became known as the Kafr Kassem massacre.

He urged the government to adopt and implement peace policies that would eventually lead to the establishment of a Palestinian State, with Jerusalem as its capital, and would solve the problem of the Palestinian refugees.

Darweesh said the same administration that "gave the inhuman and illegal order" that

brought about the massacre in Kafr Kassem was continuing to make the same mistakes.

"The massacre is continuing, if not in Kafr Kassem, then in the Gaza Strip, Sobon (Nablus) and Kalkilya against our people - the Palestinian people," said Darweesh.

A series of events are to be held in Kafr Kassem next Tuesday to mark the anniversary of the tragedy in which 49 residents, including women and children, were killed by gunfire from security forces.

Eleven border policemen later stood trial for the incident which occurred on the eve of the Sinai campaign in 1956. The village itself

had been placed under curfew, but without the knowledge of local residents who were shot as they were returning to their homes from work.

"We, in Kafr Kassem, have not harbored hatred nor grudges against the Jews. On the contrary, the Jews have heard the tune of peace coming from our village," said Darweesh.

"We are not against the State of Israel, but against the policies of the government," he said.

He called on Jewish peace activists as well as Arabs to come to the village and participate in the events to commemorate the anniversary of the massacre.

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WEATHER

Jerusalem 14-28
Haifa 16-28
Tiberias 18-31
Ashdod 18-27
Beer Sheva 17-29
Dead Sea 21-32
Eilat 19-35

Forecast: Clear to partly cloudy. No change in temperatures.

AROUND THE WORLD

City	Low	High
Amsterdam	10	15
Berlin	10	15
Bombay	25	35
Brussels	10	15
Cardiff	10	15
Chicago	10	15
Copenhagen	10	15
Frankfurt	10	15
Geneva	10	15
Helsinki	10	15
Hong Kong	25	35
London	10	15
Los Angeles	10	15
Madrid	10	15
Moscow	10	15
New York	10	15
Paris	10	15
Rome	10	15
Stockholm	10	15
Tokyo	10	15
Toronto	10	15
Vienna	10	15
Zurich	10	15

Winning cards

In yesterday's daily Chance drawing, the winning numbers were the nine of spades, the eight of hearts, the queen of diamonds, and the seven of clubs.

Kabariti invites Deri, Yosef to visit Jordan

AMMAN (AP) - Arab Democratic Party MK Taleb a-Sanaa, who met with senior officials here, said yesterday he was carrying an invitation from Prime Minister Abdul-Karim Kabariti to Shas spiritual leader Rabbi, Ovadia Yosef and party leader MK Aryeh Deri to visit Jordan.

At a press conference, A-Sanaa criticized as "racial discrimination" the appointment of Tourism Minister Moshe Katsav as minister for the Arab minority in Israel.

"This is a kind of apartheid and racial discrimination which the Israeli government is adopting," a-Sanaa told the news conference at the end of a two-day visit.

"We are not tourists in the state of Israel," said a-Sanaa. "We were in [British-mandate] Palestine before Moshe Katsav and his father were born," he said.

"This policy is totally rejected and we will boycott any meeting with Mr. Katsav," he said. "We should be treated as other citizens in the state of Israel."

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The Shalom Hartman Institute

in honor of the Dedication of its New Campus in Jerusalem invites the public to the following Public Lectures:

Thursday, October 24th, 1996 17:30 - 19:30
"Drawing the Line: Religion and Politics in a Democratic Society"
Prof. Michael Walzer, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton
"The Values of the State of Israel as a Democratic and Jewish State"
Prof. Ruth Gavison, Faculty of Law, Hebrew University
Moderator: Prof. Yaakov Ne'eman

Friday, October 25th, 1996 10:00 - 12:00
"Are We Becoming Two Peoples? Building Bridges Between Jews"
Panel Discussion:
Tamar Gordon - Principal, Tichon Hadash, Tel Aviv
Donnell Hartman - Director of Education, SHI
Prof. Eliezer Schweld - Department of Jewish Philosophy, Hebrew U.
Meir Yaffe - Principal, Carmel Zevulun, Kibbutz Yagur

Sunday, October 27th, 1996 10:00 - 12:00
"Judaism, Christianity and Islam: Correcting Intolerance & Fundamentalism"
Panel Discussion:
Prof. David Hartman
Rev. Dr. Krister Stendahl, former Bishop of Stockholm, Dean Emeritus of Harvard Divinity School
Muhammad Hourani, Director of Arab and Islamic Studies, David Yellin College
Moderator: Peter Pettei, Coordinator of the Osher Center for Religious Pluralism

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To confirm participation please call the SHI office at 5619418/9 or fax 5611913

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